The Outlook

JANUARY 11, 1922

A NEW DEAL IN CHINA

CHINA is in a chaotic condition. Roughly speaking, the country is at present under the control of several governments and dictatorships—the main Federal Government, controlling most of the provinces, with its historic capital at Peking; the Southern Government, controlling one, two, or three provinces, with its capital at Canton; and at least one Middle China military dictatorship.

Under these conditions, the establishment of a coalition Cabinet at Peking would seem to be wise. The President of China has asked Liang Shi-yi to become Prime Minister, in succession to Chin Yun-peng. Even if Chinese liberals believe that Chin has been guilty of peculations and the sale of offices, they may not altogether welcome the new Premier. He is supposed to have inspired Yuan Shi-kai's attempt to create himself Emperor some years ago. But probably conservatives rather than liberals are in the majority in Parliament (all appointments requiring the sanction of both houses of the Legislature). The new Premier has been called a master of political manipulation; that quality would appear to be rather necessary in China just now. Doubtless also his experience as Director of Railways, Minister of Finance, and Director of Maritime Customs will stand him in good stead in forming Government policies with regard to railway, banking, and tariff matters.

In forming the coalition Cabinet Liang has secured the adhesion of some powerful reactionary military chieftains, governors and ex-governors of provinces and masters of provincial bodies of troops, which have been moved about with surprising independence of the Federal Government. It remains to be seen whether he can secure the services, as Ministers, of well-known liberals (he is making a strenuous endeavor in that direction), so that the Cabinet will be as far as possible centralized and truly representative.

More or less independent and irresponsible fiscal and military provincial government in China has always been a crying evil. At the same time the lack of law and order in isolated regions has doubtless been accentuated in the recent despatches from China to the detriment of the regions where law and order prevail. Competent Chinese authorities even maintain that a comparison of the amount of crime and violence to persons and property in China with that in other countries would not be to China's disadvantage. Could China, they add, be relieved, first, of existing limitations upon her powers; second, of violations of her sovereign rights by other nations; and, third, permitted through her maritime customs to obtain needed revenue, she might be able to correct existing conditions.

International

A PROCESSION OF BAREFOOTED URCHINS WITH SINN FEIN FLAGS GREETING RELEASED IRISH PRISONERS

IRELAND'S DECISIVE HOUR

WITH the beginning of the year the Dail Eireann took up for action the decision as to whether the Irish Free State shall exist or the dream of an absolute Irish Republic be continued with all the wretched irregular slaying and burning involved. The reports from the Dail are that the vote will be close; the reports from the people of Ireland are that they wish to ratify the treaty; one despatch of January 2 says that "ratification is supported by pronouncements of the Irish bishops and by resolutions not only of public representative bodies but of important units in the Sinn Fein organization."

One Irishman who has stood for many years for a common-sense view of the Irish question has just reached America. Sir Horace Plunkett believes in a united Ireland and an independent government within the Empire. More than any other one man he has worked for agricultural co-operation. His moderate and hopeful ideas as to the present situation, as given to the press here on his arrival, are well worth heeding. Sir Horace said:

> So far as the Irish question relates to the old conflict between England and Ireland I believe it is to be buried. When Ulster is no longer an issue in British party politics, there will be a wholly new spirit in Ireland in regard to this difficulty. The bigger issue was settled because an overwhelming public opinion demanded its settlement. The lesser issue will be settled for the additional reason that it is every Irishman's wish that it should be.
>
> The treaty itself will be ratified. Even if Dail Eireann cannot on account of the pledges of its members to an Irish republic agree to another form of government it will have to consult the people, and they will be for the treaty. The terms of the treaty are substantially those that I

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have advocated for the last two and a half years.

The immediate future of Ireland hangs in the balance as the new year begins. Its security rests largely on the willingness of the Irish people to agree with the view above expressed.

THE ISLAND OF HAITI

THE island of Haiti is an increasingly important outpost of this country. It is a large island about the size of Maine. The eastern part we know as Santo Domingo; the western part retains the name Haiti. The eastern part is ruled by Spanish Negroes; the western part by French Negroes.

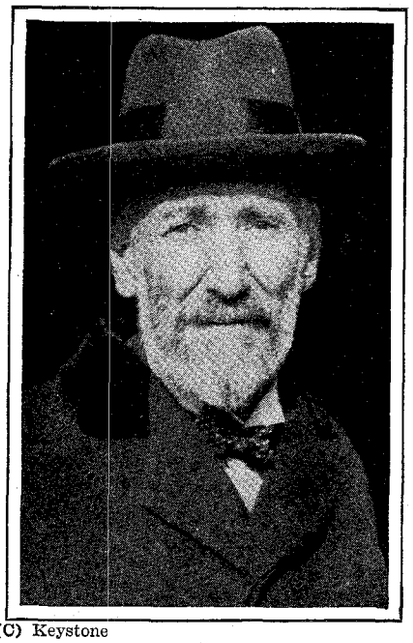
There has always been political chaos in the island. But about sixteen years ago there was such financial chaos in Santo Domingo and the foreign creditors were so menacing that the Dominican Government asked ours to establish a financial protectorate. Under the ensuing treaty the United States now collects Dominican customs, pays out the money so received towards canceling the debts of Santo Domingo, and turns the remainder over to the Dominican Government.

The financial relations between the Haitian Republic and its chief creditors —France, Germany, England—have been menacing. In the interests both of the Haitian Republic and its foreign creditors, it became necessary for us to attempt to repeat in the western part of the island what had been a success in the eastern part. American officers, therefore, took charge of the Haitian custom houses.

There has been friction in Haiti both with Spanish and with French Negroes. Stories became current of blunders, and even of outrages, committed in the course of American administration. Accordingly the United States Senate recently sent a commission to the island consisting of Senators McCormick, Jones, Oddie, and Pomerene, the first being chairman. The Commission has now returned, and its chairman has made a preliminary report.

As regards Haiti, while he recommends that there should be no withdrawal of the Marines now policing that country, he properly insists that not only the Marines but also our civilian representatives should be in sympathy with the Haitian people. Coupled with this is a reminder to the Haitians that they should show like co-operation in maintaining cordial relations.

As to the charges of brutality against our marines, the Commission declines to make any statement before further sifting the charges. It recommends the appointment of a High Commissioner, to whom both civil and military authorities should report; it declares for the continuance of our treaty with Haiti and for the maintenance of the American civil staff there. A loan is urged so that Haiti may pay her debts to European countries on more advantageous terms and so that the just claims of Haitian citizens against their own Government may be promptly met. The report adds that peace and order have now been re-established, that sanitary work has cleaned the once filthy coast towns, and that road-building has been begun.



(C) Keystone

SIR HORACE PLUNKETT

As regards Santo Domingo, the primary need also is good roads. Not only will they be means of necessary communication, but they will reduce the danger of revolution. Mr. McCormick deprecates any removal of American troops from Santo Domingo for the special reason that the population has not yet taken steps to hold elections to set up a proper government. With the exception of the activities of some small scattered bands, the country is in comparative order.

As to both Haiti and Santo Domingo, the Commission recommends a new loan, the purposes of the Dominican loan being to fund two preceding loans and to secure funds necessary for highway building.

THE CLEVELAND PLAN WORKS

LATELY we spoke of the crisis in the relations of the garment workers' industry in Cleveland to the excellent "Cleveland plan." This plan has been in operation for two years and has been called "a miracle in modern industry."

We are extremely glad now to report that harmony has been obtained in the industry and that the industrial plan is going on successfully.

A thoroughly well informed Cleveland correspondent informs us that both sides have again shown the spirit of mutual confidence and the readiness to compromise that have developed through the consideration of their joint problems and the daily adjustment of disputes. They will retain the impartial machinery which is the first essential of both peace and progress, and under the general supervision of the referees and their representative, the Impartial Chairman, the forward-looking experiments of standards of production, on the one hand, and a guaranty of employment on the other hand, will be continued. He adds:

> The principle of week work is reaffirmed in the new agreement. By July 1, 1922, all departments must either be on the basis of production standards or be put on straight week work. Another forward step has been taken toward the solution of one more important and complicated problem—the so-called "outside shop," the contractor or submanufacturer who makes certain garments for the large manufacturers. A joint committee of the union and the Manufacturers' Association is to study the whole question of the development and proper functioning of the outside shops in Cleveland. Meanwhile the same scale of wages and hours will be maintained as is required in the large factories. In these smaller shops, too, the strike and lockout will be forbidden, and all disputes will hereafter be determined by the Impartial Chairman.

Coming when industrial relations throughout the country are strained or actually broken, all parties connected with the women's garment industry in Cleveland are to be commended for their vision and courage in continuing to co-operate in one of the most vital and far-reaching industrial experiments of the day.

THE FEDERAL ANTI-LYNCHING BILL

A BILL now under consideration in Congress will, if passed and then upheld by the United States Supreme Court, provide serious penalties for persons convicted in Federal courts of participating in any mob or riotous assemblage by which a person is put to death, or who interfere with an officer protecting a prisoner from lynching, or for an official who refuses to do his full duty within reason to prevent a lynching or arrest persons taking part in a lynching. But prosecutions and penalties apply only in States or governmental divisions of States which have denied the equal protection of life guaranteed by the United States Constitution—that is, a State or subdivision which fails or

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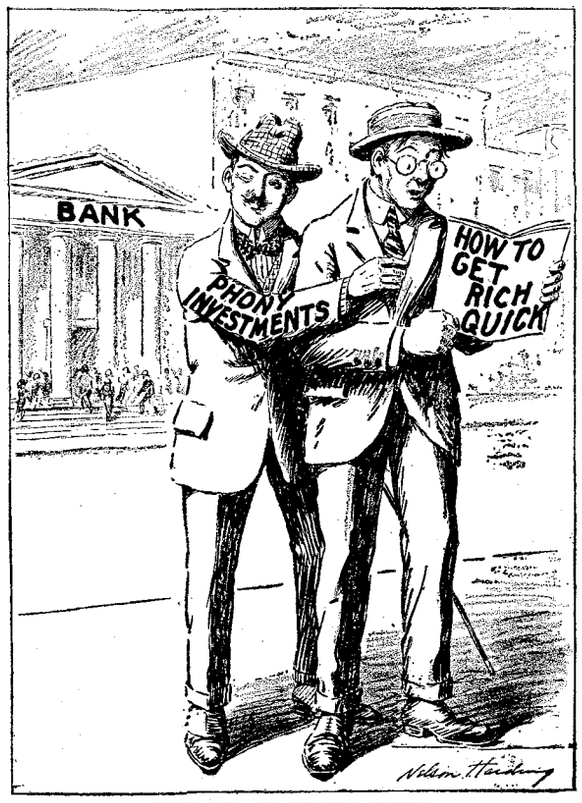
YOU PAY A GREAT DEAL TOO DEAR

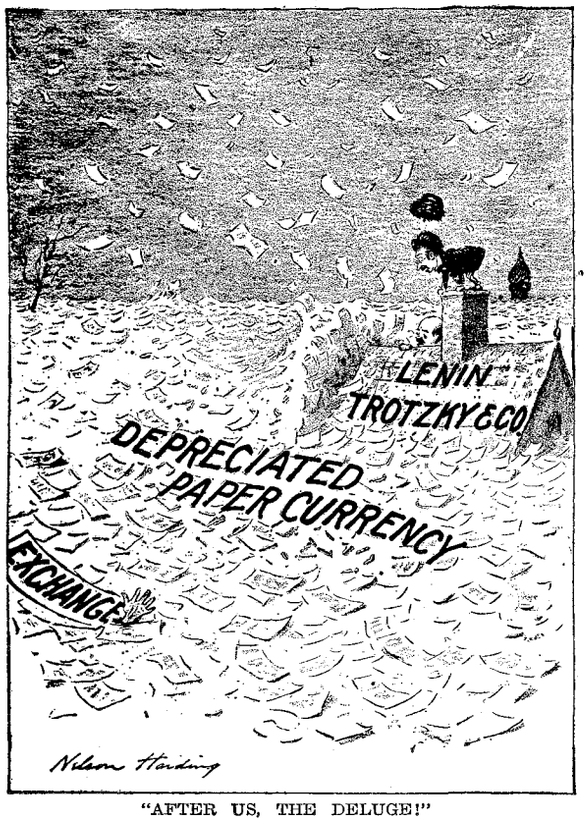
(The Winter's Tale, Act I, Scene 1)

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



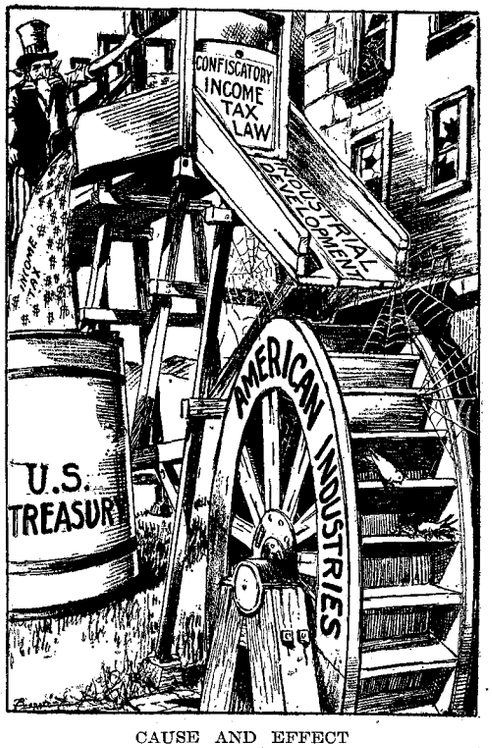
BEWARE OF PICKPOCKETS

Harding in the Brooklyn Eagle



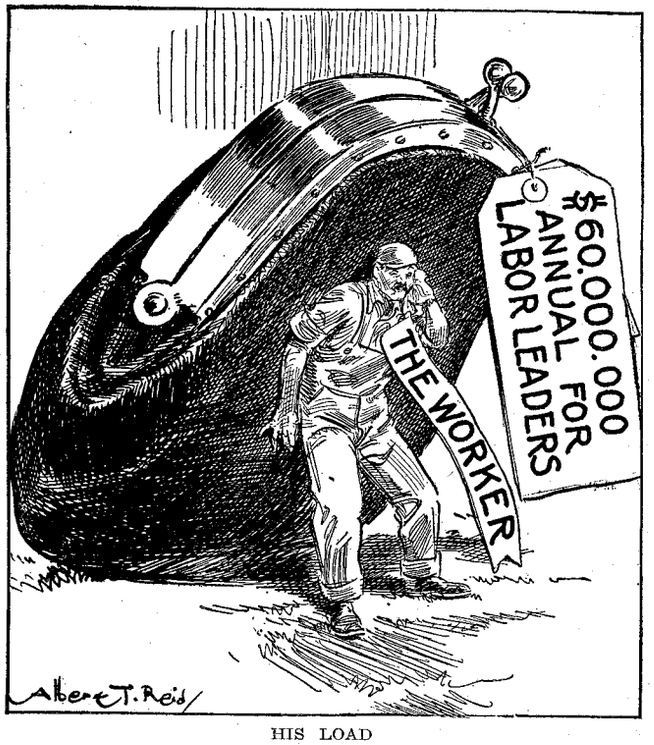
"AFTER US, THE DELUGE!"

Bronstrup in the San Francisco Chronicle



CAUSE AND EFFECT

Reid in the New York Evening Mail



HIS LOAD

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refuses to protect its citizens against mob violence.

A question at once arises as to how it is to be determined whether a State has or has not been guilty of neglect of duty. The text of the bill as it is now before the lower house throws no light on this point; apparently, therefore, the Federal court before which such an action is brought must determine the guilt of the State before it takes up the evidence in an individual case. Here may be one Constitutional question; another sure to be raised is that of the limits of State rights and Federal rights.

The proposed law goes further than to make the acts above described felonies; it prescribes a fine of $10,000 on a county in which a person is lynched, the sum to go to his family, his parents, or, if there is neither, to the United States. The present bill goes further by making a county co-responsible which allows a mob to take a person through its territory into another county where he is lynched.

A clause has been stricken out from the original bill which would make an offense against an alien committed against his country's treaty rights a crime against the United States as well as against the State where it took place. This would meet a difficult situation that has sometimes arisen, memorably once in Louisiana. Probably it was thrown out as not germane to the main object of the bill.

In urging the passage of this bill Mr. Mondell, the Republican leader in the House, said:

> The real question before the American people is: Shall we as a people permit the world, claiming, as we do, to be the most enlightened and most advanced nation, continue to allow other peoples to point to us as the scene of more mob violence than that which takes place in any other part of the world? Undoubtedly the finger of scorn of other nations is now pointed at us for not taking any steps to check the mob outrages which shock the sensibilities of all civilized peoples.
>
> Shall we continue to permit such frightful and atrocious crimes as burning at the stake without taking any steps to check their occurrence and punish the participants? We are convinced that a vast majority of the American people will look with favor upon any legislation which tends to remove this blot from our National record.

The number of lynchings is not diminishing; 63 took place last year, about two-thirds of which were for offenses other than assaults upon women; five persons were burned alive, in five cases bodies were burned after death; since 1889, 3,307 persons have been killed by mob violence.

BOIES PENROSE

Senator Penrose, whose sudden death at the age of sixty-one took place in Washington on the last day of the old year, had been a leader and a forceful influence in the Republican party during almost or quite a quarter of a century. His position as head of the Senate's Finance Committee was of the highest importance; especially at the present moment it entailed upon its chairman wearing and strenuous labor in connection with the shaping of the new Tariff and Tax Bills, and this effort undoubtedly affected Senator Penrose's physical condition.

Mr. Penrose succeeded Senator Don Cameron in the Senate in 1897, and had been a member of his party's National Committee for the last seventeen years with the exception of the four years preceding 1916.

There has never been any question as to Mr. Penrose's intellectual ability and force as a manager of men. He is classed by most people as an extreme reactionary. Conservative he undoubtedly was, and his view of public life was that of the old-time politician rather than that of a progressive statesman. He had, however, definite convictions as to political and industrial questions, and he was not of that type of reactionary who would without conscience throw aside those convictions to play politics, as the phrase goes. Thus it may surprise some readers to know that in his early political career he helped secure a reform charter for Philadelphia; on the other hand, he was charged with the expenditure of large sums and the merciless exercise of political threats in his first election as United States Senator. It may surprise readers also to know that in the period immediately preceding the Republican Convention of 1916 Mr. Penrose was in favor of the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt as President by the Republican party. This was not because he had forgotten that Mr. Roosevelt had often charged him with being an unscrupulous representative of capitalistic interests, nor was it altogether inconsistent with his former bitter antagonism to Mr. Roosevelt; it was because he wanted harmony and peace within the party. Mr. Roosevelt, though in frequent opposition to the Pennsylvania Senator, had great respect for his mental power.

In his legislative views Senator Penrose was naturally, from his State connection and economic associations, a leading advocate of a strong protective tariff. He was a member of several important Senate committees. He opposed the Wilson Peace Treaty, fought the Prohibition Amendment, and was influential in the nomination of President Harding.

A HEROIC ADVENTURE

Physical heroism for the public benefit is not confined to the battlefields of great wars. We have just learned of an extraordinary adventure of a scientist connected with the American Museum of Natural History, of New York City, which deserves to be recorded with some of the feats of the European War.

George K. Cherrie has been conducting natural history explorations in tropical America since 1884. It was his wide experience, his success in handling problems of transportation and in establishing desirable relations with the natives, that led the authorities of the Natural History Museum to send him as the Museum's representative with Colonel Roosevelt on the famous trip down the River of Doubt in 1913. Cherrie was in command in 1921 of a Museum expedition collecting birds and mammals in southwestern Ecuador near the Peruvian line. At seven o'clock on a September morning the accidental discharge of his shotgun, held in his left hand while he was retrieving a bird with his right, sent a charge of number eight shot through his right forearm, severing the ulna. Such ineffective first-aid treatment as could be given so serious a wound was at once applied, and as soon as animals could be secured Cherrie started for the port of Santa Rosa, distant eighty-five miles, where he aimed to catch the weekly steamer for Guayaquil. The pain occasioned by his wound was so excruciating that he was unable to ride on the level or down hill, and consequently walked all the way except up grade. The trip included the ascent and descent of a mountain eight thousand feet in height. He was able to get very little to eat, and was assured by the sympathetic natives he encountered that, as he was mortally wounded, why eat at all! He finally reached Santa Rosa three hours after the boat had left, but his party started after it in a canoe and caught it farther down the river. Until he reached the steamer he was unable to sleep.

When he arrived at Guayaquil, four days after the accident, his arm was as large as his leg and so gangrenous that his life was despaired of. But an operation was performed, and he improved enough so that he could come back to the United States. He is here now, and the physicians hold out hope that he will ultimately recover the use of his arm.

The pluck and determination shown by a man who could walk in such a condition to a dressing station for four days is eloquent testimony of the stock

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PORTRAIT OF A MAN, BY MORONI. LENT TO THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART BY CHARLES CHAUNCEY STILLMAN

of which our American scientific explorers are made. All honor to them!

A NOTABLE COLLECTION OF OLD MASTERS

THE increasing worth from an art standpoint of the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, as well as their magnitude, is indicated by the inconspicuousness of a collection of excellent pictures now on exhibition there, which are lent by Mr. C. C. Stillman in memory of his father, James Stillman. Amid the vast galleries of the Museum one must search and inquire to find these gems gathered by the well-known banker and art patron. The connoisseur, the critic, and the ordinary lover of good pictures will be well rewarded, however, for the trouble involved in finding them, scattered as they are in several rooms according to their subject. The dozen paintings (one of which is reproduced above) represent old masters of the Dutch, Spanish, French, and Italian schools. The richly colored portrait by Rembrandt of his son Titus is a notable example of the great Dutch master, warm in tone and characteristically virile and spontaneous in style. Francia's "St. Barbara" presents a more feminine aspect of the patron saint of the soldier than the masterpiece by Palma Vecchio in Venice, but one well worth studying. Pontormo's "Halberdier" makes an interesting companion piece to the St. Barbara. Two full-length portraits by Moroni will attract special attention on account of the skill with which their neutral color scheme is handled by this master of portraiture. Religious paintings by Murillo, Tiepolo, and Boccaccio Boccaccino form notable examples of the work of these masters. Good examples of Nattier and Vestier will please the lovers of these painters of the fair ladies of the *ancien régime*.

EGYPT

FOREIGN newspaper despatches have been reporting serious rioting, looting, and other disorders of a revolutionary character in Cairo, Egypt. These indicate that the British endeavors to carry on an Egyptian protectorate in the spirit in which it has approached Ireland and has successfully created a new nation out of South Africa are neither understood nor appreciated by certain elements among the Egyptians.

The story of Egypt is a dramatic one. With the possible exception of China it has had a longer unbroken national history than any other country known to man, most of which time it has suffered the pangs and perils of an outrageous despotism. Those who still continue to read the Old Testament will recall the despotism of the early dynasties. In modern times the Turks have taken over the autocratic scepter of the Pharaohs. When the Suez Canal was built, in the middle of the last century, the Turks were in control of southern Egypt and savage Sudanese dominated the Province of Sudan. For the welfare of the entire civilized world it was essential that civilized agents should administer and protect the Suez Canal as a great international highway of travel. Therefore a joint British and French protectorate was established over Egypt. But joint-stock companies are never successful in government administration. The partnership between England, Germany, and the United States failed in Samoa; the partnership between England and France failed in Egypt. France therefore withdrew on terms which were mutually satisfactory to her and to Great Britain, and for a generation Egypt has been a British protectorate.

The value of this protectorate to the Egyptians themselves and to the world at large is incalculable. The *fellahîn*, or peasant farmers, of Egypt have never been so prosperous or so familiar with justice and order as they have been under British rule. Schools and hospitals have been established; the characteristic and terrible eye disease has been restricted and controlled; the river Nile has been dammed and its flood waters, which used to destroy innumerable crops, have been regulated and made a blessing instead of a menace; the Sudan has been civilized. But there are misguided Egyptians, as there are misguided Americans, who think that what

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is called self-determination is more important than health, education, justice, and family life.

These self-determinationists, therefore, began to fight the British governmental administration by assassination. They murdered in 1910 Boutros Pasha, the Prime Minister of Egypt, who was himself a native Egyptian. Fortunately, Great Britain suppressed this Bolshevik uprising with a firm hand. We say fortunately, because if the revolutionists had got control Egypt would have been successfully invaded by the Turks under German leadership during the World War, the Suez Canal would have been cut, the East would thus have been separated from the Western theater of war, and the war might have been won by Germany.

Recently, with most commendable motives, English Liberals have been urging a greater degree of self-government for Egypt, although it has now a very large degree of self-government. Viscount Milner, who has been exceedingly successful as a colonial administrator of South Africa, was therefore sent to Egypt and reported a plan to the British Foreign Office for a very large withdrawal from Egypt of the English Government administration. Because this plan was not radical enough to suit the ideas of Egyptian visionaries and Egyptian revolutionaries a protest has been made against it in the form of the riots and uprising which have recently been taking place. The rioters, like the extreme Sinn Feiners in Ireland, want a republic or nothing, ignorant or forgetful of the fact that republics are not made by the stroke of a pen, but are the product of long evolutionary processes.

The Cairo riots indicate how dangerous it would be for Great Britain to withdraw wholly from Egypt, for some civilized Power of experience and wisdom must protect the Suez Canal, to say nothing of protecting the mass of Egyptians from injustice, disease, and ignorance. There is a lesson in this experience for the people of the United States in their relations to Santo Domingo and Haiti. One principle, however, must be always and constantly borne in mind. A Power like the United States or like Great Britain, if it has to administer the affairs of a less-developed people, must perform the task for the benefit first of the people themselves, second for human society at large, and not at all for the selfish interests of the trustee. England has followed this principle in Egypt with great sincerity and patience, and its perplexing and unprofitable problem in that benighted country should command for the British statesmen who are trying to solve it the sympathy of all well-intentioned people.

A NEW YEAR'S CARD TO THE OUTLOOK

A HIGH executive of a large Pittsburgh coal company in presenting his brother with a year's subscription to The Outlook wrote him as follows:

> I hope you will like The Outlook. I do not always like it, or rather I might better say that I do not always agree with it. In fact, I disagreed with it so strongly a few months ago that I shopped around in earnest to try to get something to take its place. However, I could not get anything that presented the news in better form. I feel that by reading all the news items, I can keep well informed without wading through a lot of rubbish. Generally the editorials are well worth reading. The contributed articles are sometimes fine; usually they are interesting; occasionally they are downright poor. On the whole, though, The Outlook is the best weekly published, I think.

THE EXPLOITATION OF "CONFIDENTIAL" RECORDS

THE New York "Times" has announced a series of articles by Ray Stannard Baker dealing with the inside history of the Paris Peace Conference. It is stated that this story will be based upon the private records of the Conference which are in ex-President Wilson's personal possession. These records were kept in a carefully guarded steel box which contained, according to the announcements of the "Times:"

The secret records of the Big Four in Paris;

Documents and letters seen only by Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando, and a few confidential advisers;

Minutes carefully guarded from public view by the Government chiefs;

Personal memoranda signed by the great leaders of the Peace Conference;

Confidential reports from statesmen and military men;

Europe's secret treaties which have been mysteries for two generations.

What use Mr. Baker will make of these records is of course not yet evident, nor is it fair to say that ex-President Wilson has released for publication documents which by all standards of honor should be kept confidential. Perhaps at the present time strictures should be confined to the manner in which the New York "Times" has announced its proposed series. It is always the aim of the advertising head line writer to prepare copy which will have selling punch. In the present instance he has obviously violated those standards of good taste for which the "Times" has been notable. We hope that Mr. Baker's articles will prove that good taste alone has been violated and not those requirements of trust and honor which make confidential relationships possible.

If the documents to be published are correctly described in the "Times" advertisements, although they may be in the physical possession of Mr. Wilson, they are not his personal property. They belong in the archives of the State Department.

PRESERVE THE FORESTS

THE Creator provided the United States of America with some of the most magnificent forests and woodlands in the world, but failed to provide the Americans with sufficient intelligence to take proper care of them. The result has been that until about fifteen years ago we treated our forests with prodigal wastefulness. Even so late as March, 1919, Mr. Arthur D. Little, a well-known chemical engineer of Boston, wrote a paper in which he said:

> The wastes in lumbering are proverbial, and, as Mark Twain said about the weather, we all talk about it but nothing is done. With a total annual cut of forty billion feet, board measure, of merchantable lumber, another seventy billion feet are wasted in the field and at the mill. . . . But the wastes in lumbering, colossal though they are in absolute amount, are trivial compared to the losses which our estate has suffered, and still endures, from forest fires.

Under the Forest Service this kind of thing has been radically changed. The United States, having formerly been perfectly ignorant and callous about forestry and having had to learn the science and art of tree protection and tree cultivation from Europe, has now become one of the foremost countries in the world in the scientific and economic use of one of the most valuable natural resources of mankind. We have only to turn to China to see what devastation and suffering follows the ignorant and careless handling of forests.

The development of the United States Forestry Service has practically all come about in the last fifteen years. It was established on its present basis in the Department of Agriculture during the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt. It is now proposed to transfer the Forest Service from the Department of Agriculture to the Interior Department

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in connection with the reorganization of the Federal Government departments. A reorganization of these departments is greatly needed, but reorganization in itself is useless, and sometimes worse than useless, if it is not done reasonably and wisely. The transfer is advocated by Secretary Fall, of the Department of the Interior, but is opposed by practically every forester and every forestry association in the United States.

The chief argument in favor of the transfer is that the Interior Department deals with public lands; that many of our great forests are on public lands; and that all questions connected with public lands should be centralized under one department. At first blush this seems a sound argument, but a little examination of the question will show that it does not fit the case.

In the first place, the Forest Service in fifteen years under the Department of Agriculture has grown to be one of the great successful and beneficent bureaus of the Government. This growth is partly due to the intimate relation of forestry to agriculture. The essence of forestry is raising crops of trees, and it is therefore an agricultural work. Forest Service activities are closely connected with those of other branches of the Department of Agriculture. Tree diseases must be studied and combated by the pathologists of the Department of Agriculture. Insect pests must be controlled by the Bureau of Entomology, which is a branch of the Department of Agriculture. Eradication of poisonous herbs and the improvement of forage grasses in forest tracts which are used for grazing depend upon the work of the Bureau of Plant Industry, which is in the Department of Agriculture. The control of predatory animals, such as mountain lions, wolves, coyotes, which are injurious to the grazing tracts of forest, requires close contact with the Biological Survey, which is a part of the Department of Agriculture. A very important part of the Forest Service, which is perhaps not generally known, has to do with the management of the grazing land in forest tracts of the Western mountains, and this work must be in close contact with the Bureau of Animal Husbandry, which is a part of the Department of Agriculture.

Thus it will be seen that the research work of the Forest Service, which is essential to the development of sound forestry methods, depends on close relationship with the scientists and scientific atmosphere of the Department of Agriculture—the greatest department of biological science maintained by any government in the world. To sever this connection would destroy the very purpose for which the Forest Service exists, with resultant deterioration or destruction of the productive capacity of the National Forests.

The Forest Service has been managed for fifteen years in a non-political and efficient manner, and has steadily grown in the respect of men and communities who at first were suspicious of it. If its efficiency is weakened or curtailed by a transfer made ostensibly in the interests of efficiency, it would be as unwise and as unbusinesslike a thing as the Government could possibly do.

We hope that the President, who has deeply at heart the reorganization and revitalization of Government efficiency, will not indorse the proposed transfer without the most careful consideration; for if he gives it the most careful consideration we believe he will not indorse it at all.

BRITISH "PROPAGANDA" AND FRENCH "IMPERIALISM"

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM THE ARMAMENT CONFERENCE AT WASHINGTON

BY ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT

"WE cannot disarm in an armed world."

When these words came from the lips of a British spokesman who was addressing a large group of press correspondents during Christmas week at the Armament Conference, they occasioned no stir, aroused no antagonism, set no special writer to preparing an article on British ambition.

Why is it, then, that words to the same effect when used by French spokesmen raise an outcry at once against France as an obstacle to the restoration of the spirit of peace?

It is certainly not because Britain is in danger, while France is secure. On the contrary, Britain to-day is obviously much freer from foreign peril than France. It is simply because Britain has taken the pains to create a friendly audience, while France has not. Britain has been well served by her diplomatists, while France by hers has been served ill.

When the British argue that they cannot disarm in an armed world, and are commended for saying so, those unfriendly to Britain call it British propaganda.

When the French argue that they must be armed in an armed world, and are reproved for saying so, many even of those who are friendly to France call it French imperialism.

Briand pictures in words a Germany still morally armed, whose outrages against civilization are fresh in the memory of mankind, and declares that France must still guard herself, and people shake their heads and call France militaristic. Then Balfour pictures in words an imaginary France, planning some future submarine warfare against Britain, though the real France, still prostrated by war, is before the very eyes of mankind, and people shake their heads again and call France imperialistic.

In America at least France has been speaking to an audience of skeptics; Britain, to an audience of believers. This is not by chance. Each country has created its own audience, or rather, the diplomats of each country have. Apparently the French diplomats have assumed that their business was with diplomats alone, that diplomacy was something still to be carried on by professionals, and have consequently made little effort to make their case understood by the peoples of other countries; while the British diplomats, without discarding the proved canons of their profession, recognize the fact that to-day diplomacy engages not merely the professional diplomatists themselves but masses of people. In this respect diplomacy has followed the development of war. It is no longer confined to the regulars, but is extended to the citizenry.

As that country would be surely beaten in war which ignored the conditions of modern warfare, so will that country be beaten in diplomatic negotiations which ignores the conditions of modern diplomacy.

At Washington all the machinery of the Conference has been built for the use of a diplomacy of the modern kind. The facilities for connecting the delegates with the peoples of the nations involved, so that information may go from the Conference to the people and knowledge of public opinion may be conveyed in return to the delegates, included meeting-places for conferences between representatives of the delegations and the press correspondents. In the New Navy Building, where these meeting-places are grouped, the British Empire is bounded on the south by Japan, on the west by China, and on the north by Belgium, Italy, and the Netherlands. Instead of finding their way from hotel to hotel in various parts of the city to get information, the press correspondents have found it for the

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most part sufficient to go from one headquarters in this building to another. It is true that no correspondent seeking full information has been satisfied with merely depending upon these regular conferences, though there has been somebody to represent Great Britain, Japan, China, and usually Italy, respectively, practically every day except Sunday; but no one who attended these conferences regularly could fail to get information concerning the proceedings of the Conference from the point of view of each of the nations represented.

During all these weeks at the Conference among the nations at the New Navy Building, Belgium and Holland have been for the most part unrepresented by spokesmen because they have had little which they wished to say; but France, which has much at stake, has been conspicuous by her absence. The French headquarters have been in another part of the city, at the New Willard Hotel. There, it is true, the inquirer for information may, after making suitable appointments, receive courteous attention, and generally a representative of the delegation has regularly met correspondents at an inconvenient hour of the day and talked to them—in French. No notice of these daily gatherings at this distant point has been posted with the other notices at the general press headquarters. The French have been willing to give information to those who were willing to take some pains to seek it, but have themselves taken no pains to give information from their point of view to any others.

The consequences have been almost as disastrous to the French cause as it would have been to trust to a small professional army to meet the masses of German conscripts. The French professional diplomats have been diligent and competent, but because they have trusted to the inherent strength of their country's diplomatic position, fortified by the merits of the case, and have supplied it with no defenders against the assaults of public opinion, they find themselves, at a critical juncture in the Conference, surrounded with adversaries. The French—atleast those at Washington—affect an indifference to the situation. Least of all people in the world, however, should the French ignore the influence of public opinion upon the destiny of nations. It was because they lacked the support of public opinion of other countries that they were left alone to meet the Germans in an unequal struggle in 1870; it was because they had the support of the public opinion not only of Europe but of almost the entire world except for their enemies that they emerged victorious in 1918. It is true that national interests determine national policies; but public opinion has a great deal to do with deciding whether the policies shall be successful or not. Just because the French are realists they ought to be able to take account of this fact, instead of failing to take account of it as they have in Washington.

Thus while the delegates of the United States, Great Britain, and Japan spent a month or so in discussing among themselves the relative strength of their respective battle fleets, the French were left, as they put it, to "cool their heels." In this stage of the discussion concerning naval ratios they took no part; they were not asked to take any part, and they felt aggrieved. Perhaps they had a right to nourish some resentment at this apparent disregard for their susceptibilities, but there are two reasons why they should have taken the matter more philosophically. In the first place, they should have realized that the purpose of this discussion was to see if some way could be found to stop the naval competition, and France was not engaged in that competition. There were no naval competitors except America, Britain, and Japan; and any conclusion concerning the subject had to be reached by those three Powers and those three Powers alone. So far as France was concerned, it was not a question of ending a naval competition but beginning one, and it was naturally supposed that France had no intention of entering the race as a new rival. France had already stopped building her capital ships and there was nothing in the world situation which led any one to suppose that she would begin burdening herself with an enormously increased navy while others were trying to get rid of naval burdens. It is said that France had put her proposed naval plans before the other nations early in the Conference; but when she virtually accepted the Hughes proposal in principle she was committed to the theory that the naval race should be stopped. If her delegates had been wise, they would have accepted the omission of France from the acute discussion as a compliment to her good sense. In the second place, they had the example of the Italians. Like France, Italy was left out of the earlier discussion; but, unlike France, Italy kept patiently, persistently, day after day, putting her case concerning the naval ratio before the press correspondents of many lands. Italy's spokesmen gave to the press correspondents information concerning Italy's military, naval, and financial condition, and they did it wisely. They did not present elaborate arguments or flood the correspondents with reams of printed or typewritten matter; they simply stated Italy's objects as her delegates would state them when the time came for discussion in the Conference. They cast no reflection on any other nation. They simply said in effect that all the nations of Europe needed relief from all unnecessary burdens and that as far as Italy was concerned she was content with any navy, no matter how small, provided it was on an equality with that of France. A French representative during these weeks might have been giving information from the French point of view, without any loss of dignity and with much gain in good will.

Meanwhile Britain was making the most of her case.

For many generations it has been the policy of England to thwart any Power in Europe that seems to be on the way toward predominance and to lend her weight to the side which seemed for the time being the weaker. Such a policy as this has many advantages. It is a policy which is always on the side of what is apparently the under dog. It is a policy of apparent aloofness from the sordid quarrels of other nations. And it is a policy which insures military help in case of any conflict against any prospective rival. It is a policy which is likely to bring the added advantage of the approval of others for a cause which is bound to result in material advantage. Before the war of 1914 Britain had two Powers to fear. One was Russia, the other Germany. By her alliance with Japan she minimized the danger from Russia and by her Entente with France put Russia in the balance with France against the Central Powers With the destruction of Germany as a naval Power and as a rival in the carrying trade of the world Britain has found the balance in Europe tilting the other way. She finds it to her interest to restore Germany as a source of profitable trade. Having received a predominant share of Germany's colonies, England has nothing more to expect from Germany except what she can get by commerce with her. On the other hand, France has every reason to fear a resuscitated and powerful Germany and has not received from Germany what is owing to her in the way of reparation for the outrageous injury which Germany did to her. For this reason it is to the interest of France that Poland should be strong, while a strong Poland is likely to interfere with Britain's interests to the degree to which Poland secures valuable resources which Germany might otherwise have. So the British policy now is opposed to the interests of France.

What annoys Britain is that France holds an economic position from which it is difficult to dislodge her. France can virtually say to Britain: "It is true I owe you the money that you loaned me during the war; but I cannot pay it until I get what is owing to me from Germany. You do not want to press Germany for reparations because it is to your interest that Germany should not be overburdened. Very well; I shall have to manage without your help. I will make my arrangements with Germany alone—and with Turkey, for that matter. Of course I should much prefer your help. By the way, since you have a navy enormously greater than any I can hope to have, you won't mind, I am sure, my having a strong fleet of submarines and light cruisers to protect my empire, which is quite as wide-flung as yours."

Now Britain does object to any nation having a large fleet of submarines. So long as Britain has a strong battle fleet

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with bases in all parts of the world, she can maintain and protect her carrying trade if no nation has the power to hold up those merchant ships in case of war. The last time any nation attempted to blockade England it was by methods that affronted the sentiments of mankind. Germany's ruthless submarine warfare brought the very name of submarine into discredit. During these weeks of the Conference, therefore, Great Britain has urged that the submarine be altogether abolished. She has argued that the submarine is useless for anything except what she calls offensive warfare. Naval experts have by no means agreed that this is true. Indeed, it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish in warfare between the offensive and the defensive. The British delegates have argued that, in spite of hostile submarines, millions of men were transported across the seas by Britain without the loss of a man except from hospital ships, and that that fact proves that the submarine is a feeble weapon of defense. On the other hand, it is pointed out that during the war the troops that were transported overseas were landed in friendly territory, and that the situation would be entirely different in case of an invasion. Indeed, it is argued that the submarine as well as the mine was effective in keeping both German and British coasts comparatively free from attack. In arguing, therefore, for the abolition of the submarine as a weapon of war Great Britain has stood alone; but she has kept steadily at the task of discrediting the submarine in the eyes of the world. Of course there is no evil inherent in the submarine itself. The evil is in the outrageous abuse of it, such as that by the Germans; but the result of the British appeal to public opinion has been that any proposal to maintain a fleet of submarines is one which has in it a suggestion of obloquy.

When America, Britain, and Japan agreed upon a naval ratio of 5-5-3, they announced to France that, in their opinion, the present state of the French navy was such as to make it fair for France to have a tonnage of capital ships that would make her ratio 1.75. France replied that, as she had not been consulted about the ratio, she had been thinking the matter over and she had decided on a figure about twice as large as that assigned to her. This French reply created a great deal of disturbance. By an exchange of notes Secretary Hughes secured from M. Briand, the French Premier, the French Government's consent to accept the ratio named by the three Powers, with a reservation as to the building of submarines and light cruisers. At the mention of submarines the British became denunciatory. At a session of the delegates Mr. Balfour accused France of planning war upon Britain, and at a later session Lord Lee reiterated the charge, buttressing it by quoting statements ascribed to a French naval officer in defense of Germany's ruthless submarine warfare. The accusation against France brought a responsive protest from M. Sarraut, head of the French delegation. And the statements of the French naval officer were officially repudiated by the French Government. Nevertheless France thus found herself under condemnation by the peoples of two nations who had been her allies and friends.

The episode is useful as an illustration of the fact that the nation which ignores the methods of modern diplomacy—which is at the same time both mass diplomacy and open diplomacy—is bound to suffer.

Though the United States has, like the other nations with the exception of Britain, opposed the abolition of the submarine, the American delegates have proposed rules for the control of submarine warfare. These rules have been drafted by Mr. Root. The first states the existing law concerning the holding up of merchantmen on the high seas and definitely subjects the submarine to the observance of that law. The second rule would amend the existing law by prohibiting the submarine from molesting merchant vessels altogether. The third rule would subject the violator of the existing law and of the proposed amendment to the penalty of death as a pirate. Mr. Balfour for the British proposed that, while awaiting general acceptance by all nations of the world, the naval Powers at this Conference as among themselves, in the wholly improbable case of war between any two of them, should accept the amendment to the existing law.

Behind Mr. Root's proposals there has risen a strong body of public opinion. There can hardly be any question of the ultimate acceptance of the first rule, which would subject the submarine to the existing law requiring any naval vessel to warn a merchant vessel before molesting her, to visit and search her and place her passengers and crew in safety before destroying her; but there is a question whether the rule which puts the submarine in a category by itself will be or ought to be accepted. It is impossible here to state the arguments for and against the proposal. It is sufficient to say that any amendment to the existing law of naval warfare ought to be accepted only after the most careful consideration, and should not be adopted merely because repugnance to the methods of the German submarine pirates has given the submarine a bad name and has seemed to invest it with an evil power like that of a fetish.

Talk to the effect that the French decision to retain freedom of action for the building of submarines and auxiliary vessels has paralyzed the Conference and brought it near to a wreck is not to be taken seriously. There can be no exhausting competition in building subordinate craft. Nobody plans such competition and nobody expects it. The existing competition for the building of capital ships has been stopped. The naval ratio has been agreed upon. The main structure of the American proposal has stood, as Mr. Balfour predicted it would stand. The ill feeling between Great Britain and France, which everybody who reads the papers knows of anyway, has been revealed once more; but it has not prevented them from reaching a common understanding on vital matters. Those who look at this Conference from a point of view in Europe are, after all, looking at it from a parochial point of view, even though Europe may be said to be a very large parish. After all, as Theodore Roosevelt pointed out, the world passed from the Mediterranean age to the Atlantic age in the course of its progress, and now is passing out of the Atlantic age into the age of the Pacific. To-day it is not the balance of Europe that needs attention; it is the balance of the world. It is no longer possible for one country to direct the course of history by directing the distribution of forces on a single continent. The Conference at Washington has accomplished already a great deal, but among all its accomplishments there is nothing that can compare with its achievement in bringing forth proof that for the future peace and welfare of the world diplomacy must not only have new methods but also new objects.

2 January, 1922.

THOMAS BURKE

CHARLIE CHAPLIN

BY THOMAS BURKE

A new view of the personality of the famous film comedian. In this article the author of "Limehouse Nights," "Out and Around London," and other vivid books about the by-ways of London life goes below the surface of things and shows us the true psychology of Charles Chaplin as he sees it. It will appear in our next issue.

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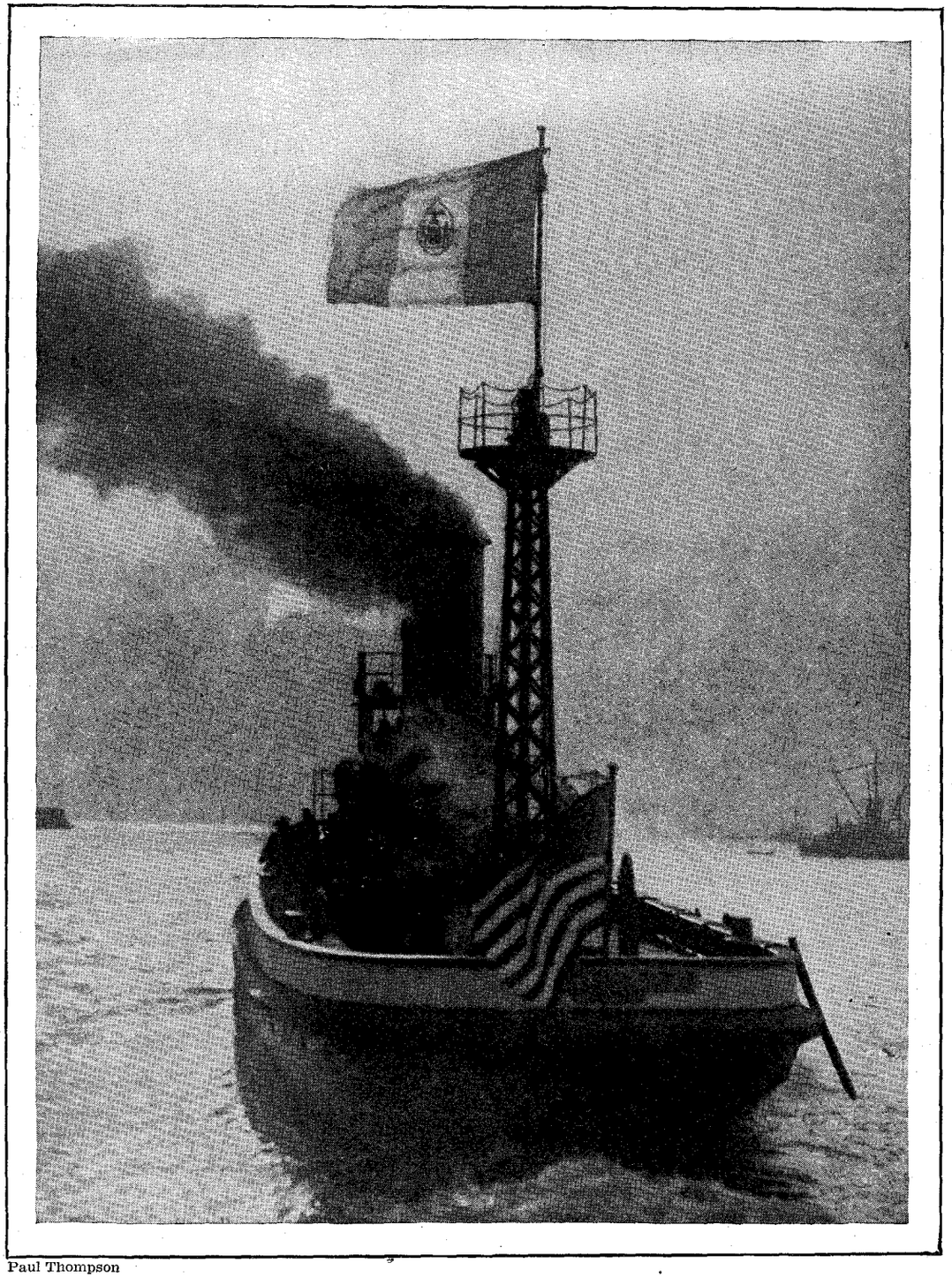
A FIGHTER THAT WILL NOT BE SCRAPPED



Paul Thompson

This is the latest type of fighting ship in New York's municipal navy. There is no truce in the war in which this ship is engaged—the war against fire. She flies the city's flag, bright with the orange and blue of New Netherlands, at the truck. She is named for one of the ablest of the city's Mayors, John Purroy Mitchel, whose tragic death in an aviation accident during the war was a National loss

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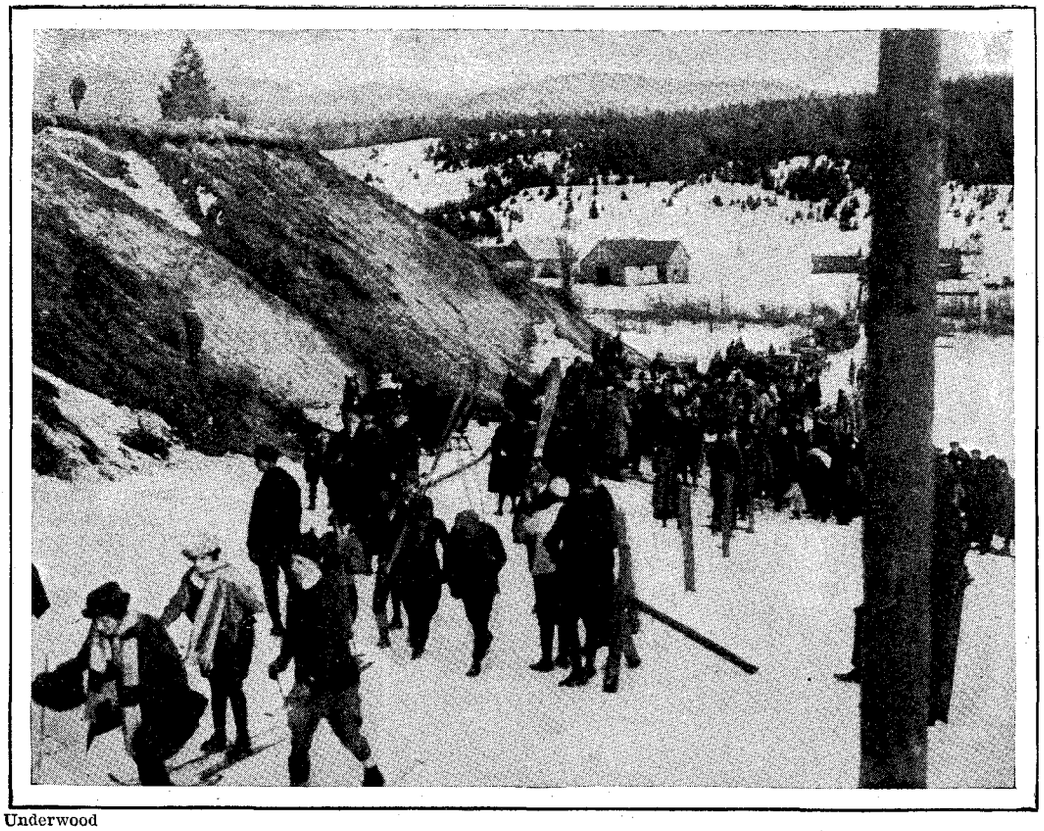
WINTER SPORT AND WINTER WORK



Underwood

WINTER SPORTS AT LAKE PLACID, IN THE ADIRONDACKS

The photograph shows members of the Snowbird Club of Lake Placid on their way to a "snow gymkhana"

International

WINTER HITS THE FISHING FLEET

Coming in from the fishing grounds off Newfoundland, the trawler Dawn, coated with ice, is here seen arriving at her dock in Boston. A member of the crew is shown chopping out the dory nest

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SHELTER

BY MARGUERITE WILKINSON

I had reared a roof for shelter from the sky;
The strong light of Heaven broke through from on high.

I had shut my door to keep quiet and warm;
The strong word of Heaven came in like a storm.

I had built me walls and thought that all was well;
The strong wind of Heaven blew on them and they fell.

Blessed are the shelterless unto whom are given
The strong light, the strong word, the strong wind of Heaven.

"OLD MAN WARNER"

BY DOROTHY CANFIELD

I MUST warn you at the outset that unless you or some of your folks came from Vermont it is hardly worth your while to read about Old Man Warner. You will not be able to see anything in his story except, as we say in Vermont, a "gape and swallow" about nothing. Well, I don't claim much dramatic action for the story of Old Man Warner, but I am setting it down on the chance that it may fall into the hands of some one brought up on Vermont stories, as I was. I know that for him there will be something in Old Man Warner's life, something of Vermont, something we feel and cannot express, as we feel the incommunicable aura of a personality.

The old man has been a weight on the collective mind of our town ever since I was a little girl, and that is a long time ago. He was an old man even then. Year after year as our Board of Selectmen planned the year's town budget they had this worry about Old Man Warner, and what to do with him. It was not that old Mr. Warner was a dangerous character, or anything but strictly honest and law-abiding. But he had his own way of bothering his fellow-citizens.

In his young days he had inherited a farm from his father, back up in Arnold Hollow, where at that time, about 1850, there was a cozy little settlement of five or six farms with big families. He settled there, cultivated the farm, married, and brought up a family of three sons. When the Civil War came, he volunteered together with his oldest boy and went off to fight in the second year of the war. He came back alone in 1864, the son having fallen in the Battle of the Wilderness. And he went back up to Arnold Hollow to live, and there he stayed, although the rest of his world broke up and rearranged itself in a different pattern, mostly centering about the new railway track in the main valley.

Only the older men returned to the Arnold Hollow settlement to go on cultivating their steep, rocky farms. The younger ones set off for the West, the two remaining Warner boys with the others. Their father and mother stayed, the man hardly ever leaving the farm now even to go to town. His wife said once that he seemed to feel as though he never could get caught up on the years he had missed during the war. She said that he always had thought the world of his own home.

The boys did pretty well out in Iowa, had the usual ups and downs of pioneer farmers, and by 1898, when their mother died, leaving their father alone at seventy-one, they were men of forty-eight and forty-six who had comfortable homes to which to invite him to pass his old age.

Everybody in our town began to lay plans about what they would buy at the auction when Old Man Warner would sell off his things, as the other Arnold Hollow families had; for by this time, for one reason or another, the Warners were the only people left up there. Also the Selectmen planned to cut out the Arnold Hollow Road and put the tidy little sum saved from the upkeep of that into improvements on the main valley thoroughfare. But old Mr. Warner wrote his sons and told the Selectmen that he saw no reason for leaving his home to go and live in a strange place and be a burden to his children, with whom, having seen them at the rarest intervals during the last thirty years, he did not feel very well acquainted. And he always had liked his own home. Why should he leave it? It was pretty late in the day for him to get used to Western ways. He'd just be a bother to his boys. He didn't want to be a bother to anybody, and he didn't propose to be! There were a good many protests all round, but of course the Selectmen had not the faintest authority over him, and, as quite probably his sons were at heart relieved, nothing was done. The town very grudgingly voted the money to keep up the Arnold Hollow Road, but consoled itself by saying freely that the old cuss never had been so very bright, and was worse now; evidently had no idea what he was trying to do and would soon get tired of living alone and "doing for himself."

That was twenty-two years ago. Selectmen who were then vigorous and middle-aged of fifty-five, grew old, decrepit, died, and were buried. Boys who were learning their letters then grew up, married, had children, and became Selectmen in their turn. Old Man Warner's sons grew old and died, and the names of most of his grandchildren, scattered all over the West, were unknown to us. And still the old man lived alone in his home and "did for himself."

Every spring when road work began the Selectmen groaned over having to keep up the Arnold Hollow Road, and every autumn they tried their best to persuade the old man to come down to a settlement, where he could be taken care of. Our town is very poor; taxes are a heavy item in our calculations; it is just all we can do to keep our schools and roads going, and we grudge every penny we are forced to spend on tramps, paupers, or the indigent sick. Selectmen in whose régime town expenses were high are not only never re-elected to town office, but their name is a byword and a reproach for years afterwards. We elect them, among other things, to see to it that town expenses are not high, and to lay their plans accordingly.

Two decades of Selectmen, heavy with this responsibility, tried to lay their plans accordingly in regard to Old Man Warner, and ran their heads into a stone wall. One Board of Selectmen after another knew exactly what would happen: the old dumb-head would get a stroke of paralysis, or palsy, or softening of the brain, or something; and the town treasury would bleed at every pore for expensive medical service, maybe an operation at a hospital; and after that somebody paid to take care of him. If they could only ship him off to his family! One of the granddaughters, now a middle-aged woman, kept up a tenuous connection with the old man and answered, after long intervals, anxious communications from the Selectmen. Or if not that, if only they could get him down out of there in the winter, so that they would not be saddled with the perpetual worry about what was happening to him, with the perpetual need to break out the road and go up there to see that he was all right!

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But Old Man Warner was still not bright enough to see any reason why he should lie down on his own folks or why he should not live in his own home. When gentle expostulations were tried, he always answered mildly that he guessed he'd rather go on living the way he was for a while longer; and when blustering was tried he straightened up, looked the blusterer in the eye, and said he guessed there wasn't no law in Vermont to turn a man off his own farm s' long he paid his debts, and he didn't owe any that he knew of.

That was the fact, too. He paid spot cash for what he bought in his semi-yearly trips to the village to "do trading," as our phrase goes. He bought very little—a couple of pairs of overalls a year, a bag apiece of sugar and coffee and rice and salt and flour, some raisins and pepper. And once or twice during the long period of his hermit life an overcoat and a new pair of trousers. What he brought down from his farm was more than enough to pay for such purchases, for he continued to cultivate his land, less and less of it of course each year, but still enough to feed his horse and cow and pig and hens, and to provide him with corn and potatoes and onions. He salted down and smoked a hog every fall and ate his hens when they got too old to lay.

And of course as long as he was actually economically independent the town, groaning with apprehension over the danger to its treasury though it was, could not lay a finger on the cranky old codger. And yet of course his economic independence couldn't last! From one day to the next something was bound to happen to him that would cost the town money.

Each year the Selectmen, planning the town expenditures with the concentrated prudence born of hard necessity, cast an uneasy mental glance up Arnold Hollow way, and scringed at the thought that perhaps this was the year when money would have to be taken away from the road or the school fund to pay for Old Man Warner's doctoring and nursing, and finally for his burial, because as the years went by even the tenuous granddaughter vanished—died, or moved, or something. Old Man Warner was now entirely alone in the world.

All during my childhood and youth he was a legendary figure of "sot" obstinacy and queerness. We children used to be sent up once in a while to take our turn in seeing that the old man was all right. It was an expedition like no other. You turned off the frequented main road and, feeling very queer and all alone on the deserted side-lane, went up the steep, stony, winding mountain trail, dense with the shade of sugar maples and oaks. At the top, where your blown horse stopped to rest, you saw before you the grassy path leading across the little upland plateau where the Arnold Hollow settlement had been. The older people said that they could almost hear the faint echoes of whetting scythes and barking dogs and cheerful voices, as there had been in the old days. But for a solitary child there was nothing but a breathlessly hushed, sunny glade of abandoned farm-homes, drooping and gray. You went past the creepy place as fast as your horse could gallop and clattered into the thicket of shivering white birches which grew close to the road like a screen, and then—there was no sensation in my childhood quite like the coming out into the ordered, inhabited, humanized little clearing in front of Old Man Warner's home. There were portly hens crooning around the close-cropped grass, and a pig grunting sociably from his pen at you, and shining milk-pans lying in the sun tilted against the white-birch sticks of the wood-pile, and Old Man Warner himself, infinitely aged and stooped, in his faded clean overalls, emerging from the barn door to peer at you out of his bright old eyes and to give you a hearty, "Well, you're quite a long ways from home, don't you know it? Git off your horse, can't ye? I've got a new calf in here." Or perhaps if it was a Sunday he sat in the sun on the front porch, with a clean shirt on, reading the weekly edition of the New York "Tribune." He drove two miles every Saturday afternoon, down to his R. F. D. mail box on the main road, to get this.

You heard so much talk about him down in the valley, so much fussing and stewing about his being so sot and so queer, that it always surprised you when you saw him to find he was just like anybody else. You saw his calf, and had a drink of milk in his clean, well-scrubbed kitchen, and played with the latest kitten, and then you said good-by for that time and got on your horse and went back through the birch thicket into the ghostly decay of the abandoned farms, back down the long, stony road to the valley, where everybody was so cross with the unreasonable old man for causing them so much worry. "How *could* he expect to go along like that, when other old folks so much younger than he give up and acted like other people, and settled down where you could take care of them! The house might burn down over his head, and he with it; or he might fall and break his hip and be there for days, yelling and fainting away till somebody happened to go; or a cow might get ugly and hook him, and nobody to send for help." All these frightening possibilities and many others had been repeatedly presented to the old man himself with the elaborations and detail which came from heart-felt alarm about him. But he continued to say mildly that he guessed he'd go on, living the way he was for a while yet. "A *while!*" He was ninety years old.

And then he was ninety-one, and then ninety-two, and we were surer and surer he would "come on the town" before each fiscal year was over. At the beginning of last winter our Selectmen went up in a body to try to bully or coax the shrunken, wizened old man, now only half his former size, to go down to the valley. He remarked that he "guessed there wasn't no law in Vermont," and so forth, just as he had to their fathers. He was so old that he could no longer straighten up as he said it, for his back was helplessly bent with rheumatism, and for lack of teeth he whistled and clucked and lisped a good deal as he pronounced his formula. But his meaning was as clear as it had been thirty years ago. They came sulkily away without him, knowing that they would both be laughed at and blamed in the valley because the cussed old crab had got the best of them again.

Last February a couple of men, crossing over to a lumber job on Hemlock Mountain by way of the Arnold Hollow Road, saw no smoke coming out of the chimney, knocked at the door, and, getting no answer, opened it and stepped in. There lay Old Man Warner, dead on his kitchen floor in front of his well-blacked cook-stove. The tiny, crooked old body was fully dressed, even to a fur cap and mittens, and in one hand was his sharp, well-ground ax. One stove-lid was off, and a charred stick of wood lay half in and half out of the fire-box. Evidently the old man had stepped to the fire to put in a stick of wood before he went out to split some more, and had been stricken instantly, before he could move a step. His cold, white old face was composed and quiet, just as it had always been in life.

The two lumbermen fed the half-starved pig and hens and turned back to the valley with the news, driving the old man's cow and horse in front of them; and in a couple of hours we all knew that Old Man Warner had died, all alone, in his own kitchen.

Well, what do you think? We were as stirred up about it—! We turned out and gave him one of the best funerals the town ever saw. And we put up a good marble tombstone that told all about how he had lived. We found we were proud of him—as proud as could be, the darned old bulldog who had stuck it out all alone in spite of us! We brag about his single-handed victory over old age and loneliness, and we keep talking about him to the children, just as we brag about our grandfather's victories in the Civil War and talk to the children about the doings of the Green Mountain Boys. Old Man Warner has become history. We take as much satisfaction in the old fellow's spunk as though he had been our own grandfather, and we spare our listeners no detail of his story—". . . and there he stuck year after year, with the whole town plaguing at him to quit. And he earned his own living, and chopped his own wood, and kept himself and the house just as decent; and never got queer and frowzy and half-cracked, but stayed just like anybody, as nice an old man as ever you saw—all alone, all all stark alone, beholden to nobody, asking no odds of anybody. Yes, sir, and died with his boots on at ninety-three, on a kitchen floor you could have et off of, 'twas so clean."

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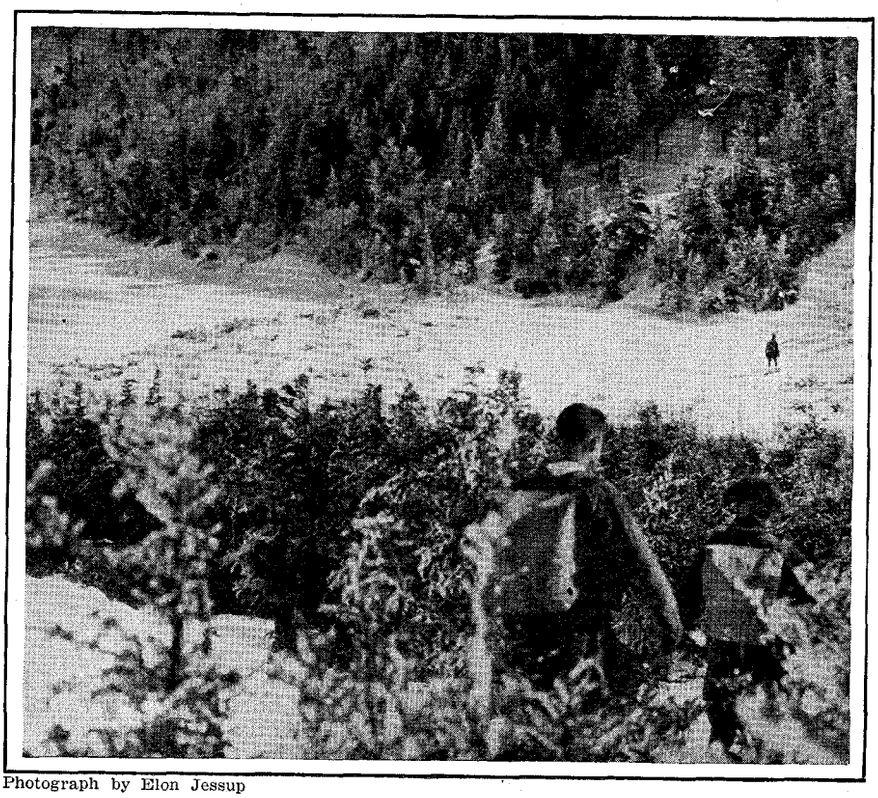

Photograph by Elon Jessup

CLIMBING MOUNT LAFAYETTE, WHITE MOUNTAINS, IN MIDWINTER

SNOW PHOTOGRAPHY

BY ELON JESSUP

THE amateur photographer who fails to take advantage of the unique photographic possibilities of snow-time is missing some of the best pictures of all the year. It is within the sphere of snowscapes that the camera comes perhaps closest of all of making an accurate record of nature as she appears to the human eye and imagination.

Nature in snow-time is a study in gradations of black and white. Her cloak has become marvelously simplified since summer days, and the camera likes simplicity. To be sure, there are present some subtleties of color which cannot be reproduced in the finished photographic print, but these are surprisingly few. Black and white the camera can readily understand, and if given half a chance it will by no means overlook numerous gradations of gray which lie in between.

The whole stage is set in snow-time for truthful delineation in black-and-white print of nature as she really exists. Yet this does not mean that a snow picture is bound to be satisfactory. There are some amateurs who secure universally poor results. The knack of getting good snow pictures is not always easy for the average amateur, for the reason that this is to some extent a specialized branch of photography. The snowscape camerist encounters a set of conditions which are quite different from those to which he has been accustomed in summer. It is essential that he change his methods to meet these new conditions. Practice, constant striving for better pictures, and the knowledge of a few semi-technical points demanded by snow photography will enable any amateur to make fast progress. One need not be an expert in order to get good snowscapes.

Many snow pictures are quite meaningless and without character. And of course one cannot hope to get worthwhile pictures until he is willing to admit that a poor picture really is poor. The most common offender in this respect among photographic prints is the one which shows extreme contrast. I have heard this type of snow picture aptly termed "soot and whitewash." It shows an extremely black object against a very white background. All detail and fine gradations of tone which were visible to the human eye in that particular glimpse of nature are completely lacking in the finished photographic print. The snow is so devoid of character that it might just about as well be a white sheet strung on a clothes-line.

Such a picture, as a rule, fails in being a truthful delineation of nature, and for this reason is wholly unworthy. There are, however, exceptions to this rule. It is sometimes possible for a "soot and whitewash" picture to have great merit. One of my own photographs which I prize most highly is tha of a dark figure in a snowstorm. Almos no detail is shown and the falling snow is indistinguishable, but the first thing one senses upon viewing the picture is that, in reality, the snow is coming down fast and furious. It is the mere suggestion of the storm which is the making of the picture. Nature is there as she really exists.

The true record and spirit of a snowstorm are quite within the capabilities of a camera, and the result may be a peculiarly effective picture. Choose a day by preference when the falling flakes are large. Be sure that both the camera and the lens are fully protected from the snow. If it becomes necessary to change a film, make sure that no snowflakes flicker down upon this. Whenever practicable, in a snow-storm the camera should be given overhead protection which extends several feet beyond the front of the lens. Flakes which drop in close proximity to the lens are likely to show as blurred streaks in the finished print. An umbrella, crudely erected awning, open shed, or some similar overhead protection will place the snowflakes at a distance and hence within the area of clearer focus.

On a bright clear day it is oftentimes advisable to make use of a ray filter. The ray filter is a colored glass which fits over the lens of the camera. It is comparable to the yellow goggles which have been such a comfort to your eyes at the seashore. You may recall that while wearing these goggles you have been able to see interesting details of a scene which without goggles the glaring sun would not permit you to see. The ray filter to some extent performs the same service in connection with the eye of the camera.

The use of a ray filter is not absolutely essential, but on a bright sunny day, at any rate, you can obtain noticeably better pictures with than without one. On gray days the difference is not so marked. The period of exposure given to the film should always be two or three times longer with a filter than under the same conditions without one.

Just as a good snow-storm picture gives one the *feel* of the storm, so should a clear-weather photograph hold suggestion either of the grayness or brightness of the day. But the hours when the sun shines most brightly are not the best for getting the sense of brightness. More effective pictures can be obtained before mid-morning and after mid-afternoon than in the middle of the day. The long, rangy shadows cast across the white blanket of snow in early and late hours are oftentimes the very making of a picture. It must be remembered, however, that at such times the white bright light of midday has changed to one of soft yellowish tinge. This means that the period of exposure must be increased two or three times.

The correct timing of exposure for a

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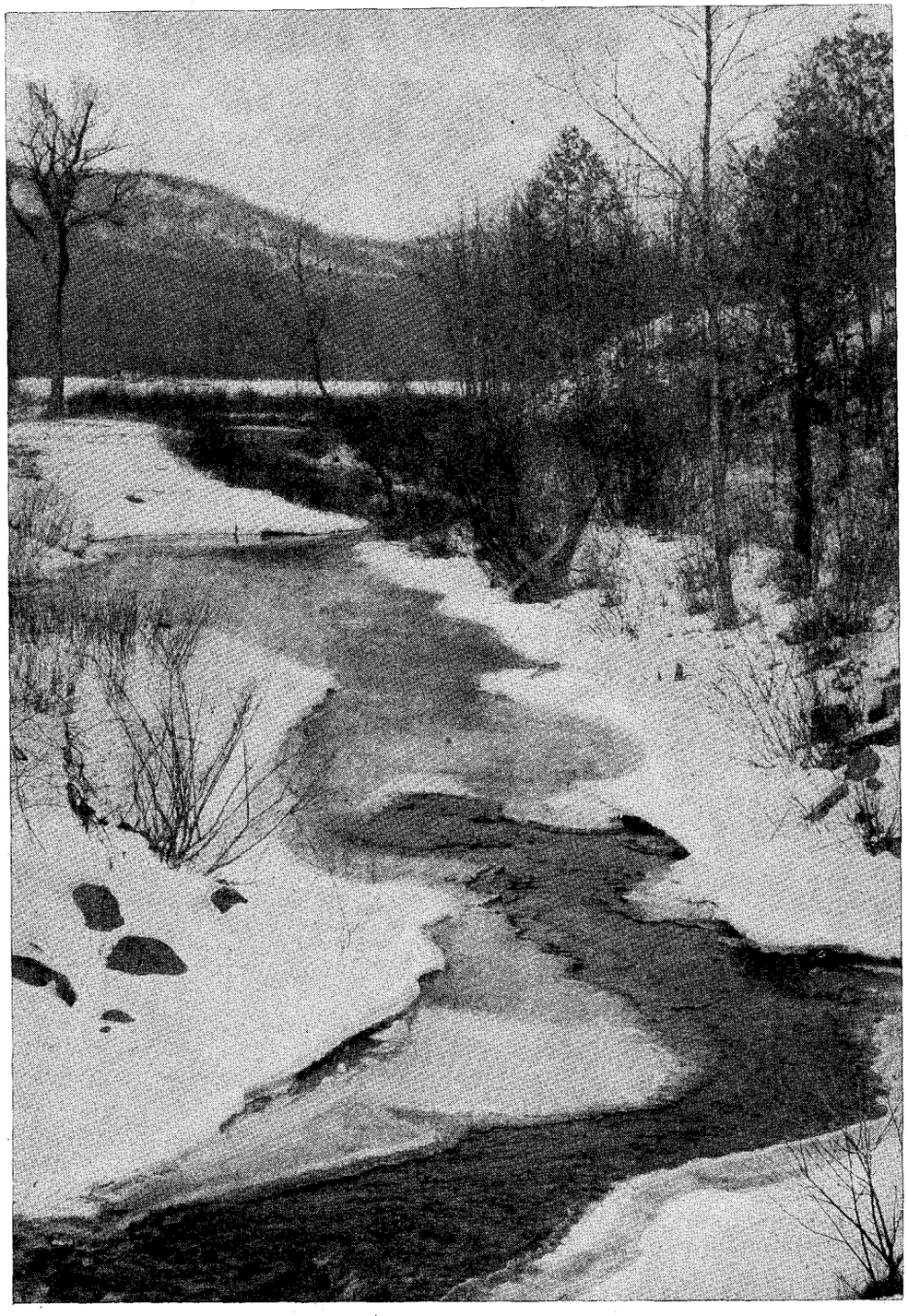

Photograph by Elon Jessup

A WINTER BROOK IN THE RAMAPO MOUNTAINS

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film or plate in winter is quite different from what it is in summer. The summer-season amateur taking up snow photography for the first time will have poor success unless he acquires a new set of exposure rules. Any one wholly unfamiliar with light conditions can easily be fooled into thinking that there is more light on a bright winter day with the glare of the sun on the white snow than on an ordinary summer day.

The camera, however, cannot be fooled. It knows very well the difference between summer and winter light, knows that the matter is wholly one of light intensity. The light of summer is direct, while that from the snow in winter is reflected. And reflected light can never be as intense as direct light. This means that an open snowscape almost universally demands a longer exposure than does an open summer landscape, although of course the winter scene which is wholly devoid of snow takes a longer exposure than the snowscape.

This matter of exposure is in some respects the most important element of all in taking snow pictures. It demands careful study. There are a number of general rules, of course, which are applicable both to summer and winter work, as, for example, the nearer a given object is to the camera, the longer the exposure. Even so, you are almost sure to make mistakes in timing unless during the early stages of your snowscape experiments you rely upon a good exposure meter. One of these can be purchased in any photographic store.

Even when guided by a reliable exposure meter one would do wisely to make a certain amount of allowance for the physical changes which the mechanism of a camera goes through in winter. Cold weather affects the metal parts. It oftentimes happens that a shutter works more slowly on a cold winter day than it does in summer. Indeed, there have been times with my own camera when the shutter has refused to function at all. I have been forced to go indoors and allow it to thaw out.

Inattention to the physical changes to which a camera is subject in winter is an important element in getting good pictures. Only by knowing one's camera thoroughly, knowing what to expect under given conditions, can one make the proper amount of allowance for temporary shortcomings.

It is essential to know, for example, that when you take a camera from a heated house into the extreme cold of outdoors there almost invariably forms on the lens a cloudy coating of moisture. If a picture were taken under these conditions, the finished print would be an indistinguishable blur, which you would find it hard to accoun for unless you knew the reason.

After stepping outdoors in winter t take a picture, it is advisable to look a your lens to make sure that the mois ture has cleared. It will do so after th glass has become acclimated to the cold If the coating of moisture is slow i evaporating, you can speed matter along by wiping the lens with a clean linen handkerchief. But wipe very gently indeed, so that the glass will not be scratched.

Photographic plates and films should be carried in such a way that there is no possibility of getting them wet Small round tin containers sealed with strips of adhesive tape serve as water-proof protection for films. For the size of film known as 1A or smaller an empty shaving-stick tube does very well

Plates and films, so far as practicable, should be protected from continued extreme cold. If it is found possible to keep a set of plate-holders warmly wrapped in a blanket or some article of clothing before and after exposure, this care may prove an element in securing satisfactory pictures. It does plates no good to get them chilled. In any case, it is unwise to develop a plate or film immediately upon bringing it indoors. Before doing so allow the plate or film to become acclimated to the heat of the house.

CAPITAL SHIPS AND AIRCRAFT

A LETTER FROM THREE ARMY AVIATORS

Aberdeen Proving Ground,
Aberdeen, Maryland,
November 14, 1921.

The Editor of The Outlook,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

CAN it be that the question of the vulnerability of battleships to attack from the air is again being discussed on the negative side? Apparently such is the case in view of the article recently published in The Outlook and written by Commander Cleary, of the United States Navy. Officers of the Army Air Service who participated in the bombing maneuvers off the Virginia Capes this summer had believed that the question of battleship vulnerability had been settled once and for all. Certainly, nobody who saw the Ostfriesland, the masterpiece of German naval construction, the pride of the Imperial German Navy, roll over on its back and take up its final resting-place on the sandy bottom of the Atlantic Ocean can ever be convinced that a ship could be constructed capable of resisting attack from the air.

In this connection, the Ostfriesland, which has been referred to as an "obsolete ship," cost the German people $40,000,000 to construct, was one of the most modern ships of the German navy, and had two protective steel decks especially designed for defense against aircraft.

In the course of his article the naval commander says:

> She was taken out and anchored for the purpose of sinking her. . . . Generally ideal summer weather prevailed. The ship was without anti-aircraft gunfire or ability to maneuver, and the planes bombed from the very low altitude of 1,200 to 2,000 feet.

True, the Ostfriesland was anchored; but the inference that an anchored target is easier to hit than one in motion is far from the facts in the case. This had been demonstrated by extensive tests on towed targets near Langley Field the past summer. Army bombers secured a much higher percentage of hits on towed targets than they did on stationary targets, for the reason that the bombing plane travels in the same direction that the target is moving, and consequently is over it for a greater length of time. Obviously, the faster the target is moving, the easier it would be to hit.

As concerns maneuverability, it is a matter well known to all naval officers that it is an impossibility for a capital ship to change its course in the least degree within eleven seconds, which is the time required for a bomb to drop two thousand feet.

As concerns anti-aircraft gunfire, the record of hits on the western front during the recent war was only one hit in 67,000 shots. The highest percentage claimed by ordnance experts even to-day is but one hit in 40,000 shots. It is merely a problem in arithmetic to figure the time it would take to secure one solitary hit. In fact, it is well known and realized by persons conversant with this subject that the effects of anti-aircraft fire are so small as to be practically negligible. The sooner this fact is admitted by naval experts, the simpler will be the question of deciding the relative importance of capital ships and aircraft.

As concerns weather conditions: Ideal weather prevailed in the bombing of the Ostfriesland, but during the bombing of the Frankfort, four days before this time, one formation of Martin bombers went out, did their bombing, and returned during one of the worst storms that hit the Atlantic coast this summer. Only one ship of this squadron was forced down by motor trouble after the bombing was completed. It landed on shore without serious damage. This flight got a higher percentage of hits than any other flight that bombed the

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Frankfort. Naval experts will admit that during that storm it would have been impossible for a naval vessel to have secured any reasonable percentage of hits by gunfire. Also, on their way out to bomb the German destroyer a squadron of pursuit planes, led by Captain Baucom, flew through seven rainstorms straight to their target and returned without the loss of a single plane. Let us get down to facts and admit that fog and bad weather are a far greater menace to naval vessels in action than to aircraft.

As concerns the altitude from which we bombed: Even admitting that at an altitude of 2,000 feet aircraft might be in danger from machine-gun fire, or possibly from anti-aircraft fire, no one contends for a single minute that we might not suffer loss of ships and loss of life. We didn't join the Air Service with any expectation that we would rival Methuselah. Certainly we would have our casualties, but machine guns, artillery, and gas did not prevent the infantry from going over the top and accomplishing its mission. No more would the loss of airplanes prevent the Air Service from going to sea and accomplishing its mission. It is ridiculous to argue that bombing squadrons would not bomb from low altitudes simply because some of their planes might be shot down.

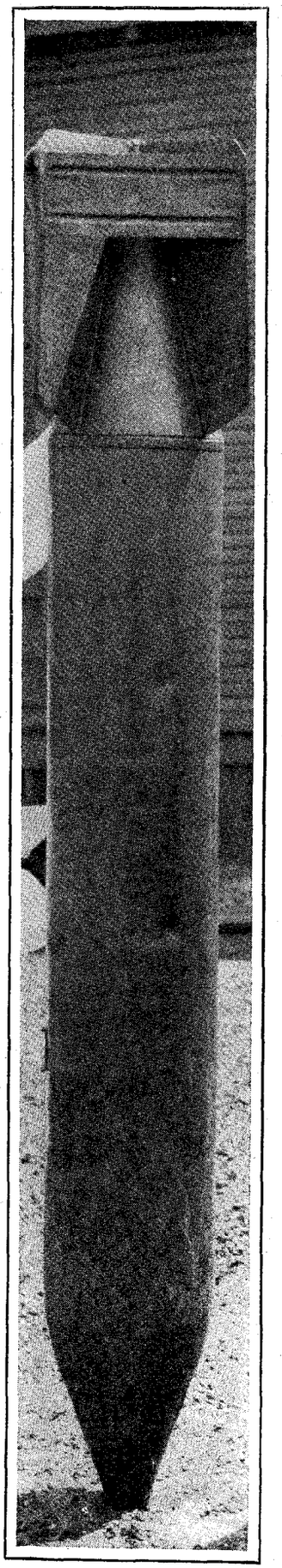
The naval commander writes as follows:

> Furthermore, if the Ostfriesland had carried three or four or more fast light pursuit planes (armed with machine guns firing explosive and incendiary bullets), as all modern ships do carry or will shortly carry, these light planes, capable of outmaneuvering with ease the heavy bombing planes, would have shot down a number of the bombing planes before they came anywhere near the target ship.

Surely the commander knows that in time of war no squadron of bombing planes would go on a mission without their escort of pursuit planes. For every bombing squadron we would have two pursuit squadrons, each of which contains twenty-one fast fighting airplanes. What chance would these three or four pursuit planes carried on a capital ship have against the fighting craft guarding the big bombers? None, absolutely none. The commander may say that the other capital ships of the fleet would also have pursuit planes. The answer is that in time of war, with a properly developed air force, we would not be limited to one bombing squadron and two pursuit squadrons of protecting planes. We wouldn't, or at least let us hope we won't have to, wage war with one bombardment squadron and two pursuit squadrons. With a properly developed air service we would have several wings of bombardment and several wings of pursuit to meet any approaching fleet. We would be able to mass at least a dozen pursuit planes for every plane the capital ships could send into the air. That is the reason why the "three or four or more fast light pursuit planes" mentioned by Commander Cleary would not affect in any way the outcome of an engagement between battleship and aircraft. Such an engagement could end in only one way—the sinking of the battleship.

Commander Cleary presents a statement showing the number of bombs dropped on the Ostfriesland and the number of hits obtained. We desire to call attention to his statement that out of six Army 2,000-pound bombs dropped there were no hits. This is literally correct, but *it was the 2,000-pound bombs which put the Ostfriesland under the water in less than thirty minutes.* It was the mining effect of the bombs exploding near the ship and under the water which tore terrific holes in her sides that sent the vessel to the bottom. *To be sure, we didn't hit her, but we did sink her.* It is hardly fair to consider as hits only those bombs which came into contact with the target itself for the reason that every bomber tried not to hit the ship. He wanted to strike the water close to it, for he realized the greatest damage could be inflicted in that way. In fact, General Mitchell impressed upon us that he did not wish us to hit the vessel, but to place the bombs close to her in the water. To say we received only 16 hits out of 69 bombs dropped is a very misleading statement for the reason that every bomb striking the water within fifty feet caused more damage than a direct hit would have caused. Another statement made by Commander Cleary was that we dropped eleven Army 1,000-pound bombs and secured three hits. The writers took part in that particular phase of the bombing, and we remember clearly, as the records will show, that we did not drop eleven bombs of that type. We *carried* eleven Army 1,100-pound bombs, but after we had dropped five and secured three direct hits and two close to the ship in the water we were given the emergency signal to stop bombing by the Navy. Had we dropped the remaining six bombs it would have been unnecessary for the next flight of bombing planes to have left their airdrome, for the Ostfriesland would have sunk as a result of this attack.

The one vital point in this controversy which seems to have been absolutely lost sight of by the defenders of the capital ship is that prior to the bombing tests this summer naval officers were positive in their statements that aerial bombs could not sink a battleship *under any circumstances.* They ridiculed arguments of Air Service officers to the contrary. They were vitriolic in their articles written for publication. Why, one would have thought it was sacrilegious to even imagine that an airplane could carry a weapon capable of sinking, or even putting out of commission, for that matter, one of those great, big, beautiful floating palaces which cost the taxpayers of this



A MODERN AERIAL BOMB OF ABOUT THREE HUNDRED POUNDS WEIGHT

Its size may be judged by the white band on the upper left side of the picture. This is the arm of a man holding the bomb

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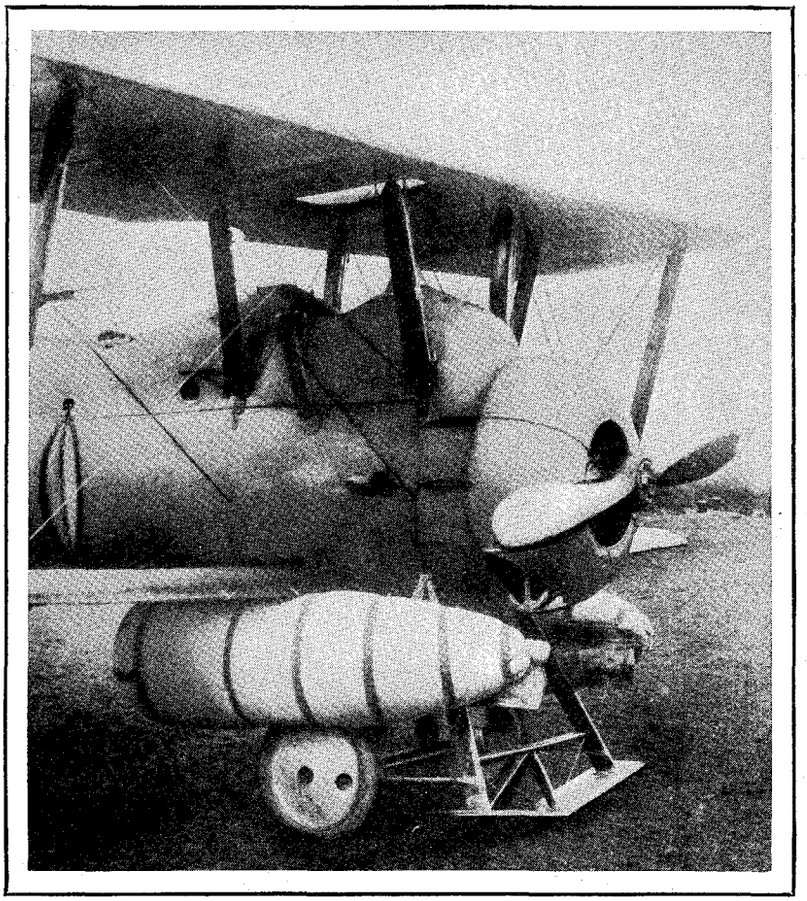

Wide World Photos

AN AIRPLANE DESIGNED FOR USE FROM A SHIP—THE CYLINDERS ABOVE THE WHEELS ARE INFLATED FLOATS

country the huge sum of *forty million dollars* to construct! That was the subject of dispute, and it was decided so conclusively that it irritates those of us who dropped the "bombs which were heard round the world" every time an article appears which attempts to champion the capital ship, the ship which takes three years to build and which costs the country more than is required to construct one thousand of the type of airplane which so speedily sent the pride of the German navy to her watery grave.

One super-dreadnought costs $40,000,000.

One super-bombing plane costs $40,000; one thousand of these bombing planes can be built for the price of one battleship. These are not fancies, but facts. What chance would the king of the jungle have if attacked by one thousand poisonous reptiles—each carrying a *fatal* sting?

Why not admit frankly that an airplane can sink a battleship, or any type of war-vessel? Why cloud the issue with a multitude of collateral facts?

Every time an Air Service officer reads an article stating that a battleship cannot be sunk by airplanes he is reminded of the Swede who was in jail and who was informed by his lawyer that he could not be put in prison for that offense. The Swede replied: "Yah, but they got me in here just the same."

Commander Cleary mentioned the bombing of the battleship Iowa and the few hits obtained by the Naval Air Service during that experiment. He intimates that the low percentage was due to the fact that the ship was moving at a rate of speed of about six miles an hour, and also because the planes bombed at 4,000 feet, an altitude higher than the bombing that was done during the sinking operations. He also lays emphasis on the fact that the Army did not participate in this maneuver except through the use of three blimps in the search part of the problem.

We wish to take advantage of this opportunity to lay emphasis on the fact that the Iowa problem was primarily and principally one of location. Many naval officers were positive in their statements that airplanes could not locate a battleship if given merely a general location, and to establish this question one way or the other the Iowa, at zero hour, was somewhere between Cape Hatteras and Cape Henlopen, and not farther out to sea than one hundred miles nor nearer to land than fifty miles. The army was invited to participate in this problem, and sent three airships. The Iowa was located within *two hours* after the airships left their airdrome, and it was located by army airships, not naval seaplanes.

True, as Commander Cleary says, the Army Air Service did not participate in the bombing exercises, for the reason that they were not to be conducted with live bombs. Nothing could be proved by the use of "dummies," inasmuch as credit would be given only for direct hits, and, as the case of the Ostfriesland so well illustrates, direct hits are not the ones which sink a ship. The bombs which strike the water close to the ship inflict the death blows. The Army might have bombed the Iowa and dropped ninety per cent of its bombs within twenty-five feet of the vessel (any one of which would have sunk the ship if the bombs were live), and articles would have been published to the effect that the Army failed to hit the target ship. Had we been permitted to bomb the Iowa with a view to its destruction, the Army would have participated gladly, and there would now be one more battleship resting on the bottom of the Atlantic.

It is well known that dummy bombs are not true in their trajectory. What might easily be a direct hit with a live bomb, perfectly designed and constructed, would very likely be a one hundred or two hundred foot miss with a dummy bomb.

The Naval Air Service probably did not secure a high average on the bombing of the Iowa, but the slow movement of the vessel or the altitude from which they dropped their bombs had nothing whatsoever to do with the percentage obtained. Let's admit that it is hardly fair to conduct an experiment with dummy bombs with their false and untrue trajectories and then come before the public with a statement of the few hits obtained, laying emphasis on the fact that the vessel was moving and saying nothing of the type of bomb used.

The commander also says:

> Operations against her [the Iowa] were delayed one day by fog in which the airplanes could not operate, although this fog did not prevent the Iowa and the attending ships from maneuvering.

To be sure the experiment was delayed one day, but it was not delayed by Air Service officers. The searching parties were ready to take off. Army planes experienced no difficulty that day in flying because of poor visibility. The naval officer who considered it advisable to wait until the visibility was better probably considered that there was an element of risk involved and believed it unnecessary and unwarranted to risk the lives of his Air Service officers in times of peace. Surely the commander realizes that had there been war the Air Service would have operated regardless of the visibility. During the St. Mihiel offensive the visibility was so poor that the planes were flying barely over the tops of trees, but they operated and they secured results. It is hardly fair to lead the public to believe that an army, or a navy, for that matter, which postponed its maneuvers in time of peace for the sake of the health and possibly the lives of its men would hesitate in time of war because it was highly possible that some one might be lost.

Let us remember that it was the con-

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viction of many naval officers that a ship could not be located at sea. Let us also remember that the ship was located, and that it was located easily and speedily.

Let us remember that some naval experts ridiculed the idea that airplanes could sink battleships. Let us also remember that a submarine, a destroyer, an armored cruiser, and a battleship were sent to the bottom with the greatest of ease, and that each one of these vessels went under in less than thirty minutes after the heavy bombing commenced.

We rest our case, satisfied with the verdict which is sure to be rendered by the jury of American people, whose money, in the form of taxation, pays for the construction of capital ships which, tests have proved, are impotent when attacked by airplanes.

Very truly yours,
C. E. SHANKLE,
First Lieutenant Air Service, U. S. A.
HAROLD LEE GEORGE,
First Lieutenant Air Service, U. S. A.
CARLYLE W. GRAYBEAL,
First Lieutenant Air Service, U. S. A.

[We are glad to have the privilege of publishing this communication from three of the officers who took an active part in the bombing tests. We consider it a valuable contribution to the discussion which has been carried on in these pages concerning the relative power of airplanes and battleships. The testimony of these three officers is indeed weighty.

It should be borne in mind, however, that the armor-piercing shell, the torpedo-boat, and the submarine have all been heralded as sounding the knell of the battleship. A better case can be made out for the airplane than for any of these other weapons, but can we yet say that the verdict on the battleship is "thumbs down"?

Each new weapon of offense against the battleship has in turn developed new methods and tactics of defense. We confess that, despite the expert testimony which has been presented here, we do not expect to see the battleship yield control of the high seas at the present time. We are ready to grant that the airplane is the most portentous menace to its existence which has yet appeared.—THE EDITORS.]

THE RECTOR OF ALL OUTDOORS

BY EMILY TAPLIN ROYLE

"THE Country Pew vs. the Country Pulpit"[1] gave a depressing picture of Ohio communities where "the sheep look up and are not fed." To complete the picture Mr. and Mrs. Bruère should tell us what religious body of the present time willingly ordains ignorant men of limited intellectual power and sends them out as apostles to intelligent country people. I shall perhaps be accused of the arrogance sometimes ascribed to the Anglican communion if I say that at least I am sure they are not Episcopalians. Our educational standards are high, and an intelligent financial system tends to remove the clergy from the eleemosynary servitude that is suggested by the Bruère survey.

Perhaps the authors of this survey would see another evidence of clerical dependence in a minister who acts as barber to country boys, as middleman to sell pigs for an isolated farmer, as fertilizer mixer and general handy man for a scattered community, and then in eucharistic white feeds the souls of humble folk with the heavenly bread, after he has helped them to provide the earthly food that is too often obtained with strain and toil. Here is no ignorant preacher speaking to prosperous country people, secure (may I add, smug?) in the knowledge of their fat acres. His people are often ignorant, always poor, scattered, and isolated—sometimes the last feeble shoots of an old ancestral tree deeply rooted in American history, sometimes toiling peasants whose first knowledge of America was Ellis Island.

The great changes in the New England States came with the Civil War—too many of the young men never came back. Some made the Southern battlefield a piece of Northern ground; others wandered to the new lands of the West. Large and thriving families dwindled down to lonely widows and spinsters; farms grew up to woodland, little mills and shops were abandoned, and newcomers to the districts settled early in our history found pioneer conditions awaiting them. The hill lands of Connecticut, sold at modest prices, attracted land-hungry immigrants of many nationalities, to whom the possession of a little farm was the greatest gift the New World could offer. These farms are often on rough hill roads, so isolated that there are no neighbors, no passing traffic; and in many cases the husband and father leaves home, sometimes for weeks at a time, to take some job that will bring in cash to pay taxes and interest, while wife and children work the farm. Imagine these people, isolated, uneducated, often unfamiliar with rural American life, and you have the mission field in which the "Pastoral Parson" finds his work. He is, properly speaking, a diocesan missioner of the Episcopal Church, but his scope is so broad and so undefined that he might well be called the rector of all outdoors. Changes in rural conditions have caused other religious communions to give up their work. There are many disused and abandoned churches, lost in the hills or on untraveled roads where fifty years ago there was a small rural community. Now there are a few scattered families and a closed church. The Parson obtains the use of such a church; sometimes it is possible to buy it and turn it into a community center as well as church. A church is not, however, absolutely necessary for his ministrations, for he wrote us recently of an occasion when he baptized a family of eight children in the kitchen. Then the next time he came along that lonely road he had his stereopticon outfit, and there was a display of religious pictures and a talk about sacred things as well as a secular and entertaining display. Since the consolidation of rural schools some of the old country schoolhouses are closed, and the Parson has been able to turn some of these disused schools into community centers. The Parson told us last winter how he drove twelve miles over very rough roads to hold a Christmas party in a closed Methodist church. He got to the little hamlet at dusk, and rang the church bell vigorously. In that community ringing the church bell means just two things—fire or a visit from the Parson. So people looked out to see if it was a fire, and as there was no sign of that danger, they ate their suppers with despatch and made ready for a party, the only dissenters being the bats, whose squeaks and flutters in the belfry followed the time-honored precedent of all bats, ecclesiastical or otherwise. The Christmas party included gifts from good friends of the missioner in the great city, games, dancing (the Parson's small victrola pays a good many parochial calls), and simple refreshments. These gatherings in isolated places are a regular part of the Parson's work. In many cases there is absolutely no amusement for the young people, and the results of this are altogether evil. Some strait-laced people have been rather shocked when the Parson acted as umpire at a Sunday afternoon ball game, after church; and, what is more, he brought bat, ball, and catcher's glove with him on Saturday night, incongruous company for his priestly vestments. But he thinks clean baseball is one form of Americanization for the growing lad of foreign parents, shut off in lonely hamlets where Satan is the most active purveyor of amusement.

And those very boys like to come to the Parson's Sunday school. He teaches them and talks straight to them, but, knowing boy nature, it is just possible that sessions held in the basement of

[1] See The Outlook for November 16, last.

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some of the shabby little churches have something to do with it. The Parson's "grip" always holds something besides Prayer-Books. After butchering time there may be a few small steaks or other savory trifles, and when boys gather around a furnace or old stove with some tidbit sizzling on the end of a stick they are very likely to think there really is something in the Parson's preaching. On some of these occasions the Parson's valise is likely to show a businesslike set of clippers also, and a group of smooth-headed young Christians appear before their admiring friends after shedding their shock of unbrushed hair. It was after such an incident that the visiting bishop of the diocese commented on the neat, nice-appearing boys. The Parson confided his part in it to the bishop, who observed that it was not every minister who was able to trim the congregation.

In some of these communities summer boarders of the humbler sort are relied upon as a cash crop, for it is very hard to find an available market for farm produce. Young people from factories and department stores, content to rough it a little, find health in the country air; but sometimes the swimming-hole, the fields and sky, are not sufficient. Some of the Parson's friends in one isolated hamlet sent out a cry for help—they couldn't keep their boarders without some Saturday-night amusement. So the Parson loaded up a few accessories and journeyed over the hills and through the swamps and got up a sociable. They had a fine time, with games and dancing; the tired Parson spent the night with a neighbor, and most of the city boarders attended the service he held the next morning. Sometimes he has a Sunday itinerary of fifty miles or more; he goes to one place Saturday night, visits around or holds a party, has an early service the next morning, journeys on to a second hamlet for service, and then perhaps to a third. At every place he is secular as well as religious adviser; he can always tell where seed potatoes are procurable, what to do for peach borers and apple scab, and what the biggest boy should do to prepare for a good job.

Just now there are communities beyond number where just such work as this is needed. It is what we rather snobbishly call "uplift" and "social service," but remember that the religion that vitalizes it is not "popularized." It goes hand in hand with a dignified liturgy and a beautiful service, and, though I have not heard the Parson preach, I am quite sure that he does not need to give his hearers a résumé of the week's events, with his private interpretation of the Washington Conference and the trend of the universe added. He has translated his church into terms of work, and the time may yet come when the seed from these Connecticut hills may change the whole destiny of State and Nation.

PEACE IN THE NEAR EAST

BY PIERRE DE LANUX

WAR has come to an end between the French and the Turkish Nationalists.

A few weeks ago military operations were going on between Turks and French in Cilicia on a 350-mile front, and between Turks and Greeks in western Asia Minor. The first of these wars is now closed by the Treaty of Angora. The second one is not to last long, as we hear of a general retreat of the Greeks towards the sea.

Like the Wiesbaden agreement between France and Germany, the Angora treaty is not the work of regular diplomats; M. Franklin-Bouillon, a French Congressman, having received full powers from Paris, has negotiated it with the Nationalist Government of Mustapha Kemal at Angora. The Angora Government has not been officially recognized by the foreign Powers. But it represents the Turkish nation, it has carried on a successful war against the Greek invaders of Anatolia, it has held its own against formidable odds. The great National Assembly of Angora has no money, but it also has no foreign debt. The army lives on the country. And it must be admitted that Kemal's authority and independence have been constantly growing during the last months.

The terms of the Angora treaty are as follows:

1. Hostilities are to cease immediately and all prisoners to be released on both sides.

2. Full amnesty is to be granted in all regions evacuated by one party and occupied by the other.

3. The rights of minorities are solemnly recognized by the Turkish Government, on the same basis as in the European treaties of 1919 regarding minorities in Poland, Rumania, etc.

International

KEMAL PASHA, TURKISH NATIONALIST LEADER

4. The Turks will recover a strip of land which they lost by the Sèvres treaty (1920), and where the population is overwhelmingly Moslem. (In the five districts crossed by the new line, from Payas, on the Alexandretta Gulf to Djezire-ibn-Omar, on the Tigris, the Moslems are respectively 86 per cent, 77 per cent, 82 per cent, 80 per cent, 65 per cent. A plebiscite would undoubtedly have given Turkey what France and Syria abandon by the Angora treaty.

What are the consequences of this treaty?

First, France is withdrawing 50,000 men from Syria in the next three months, leaving only 35,000, most of whom will be withdrawn later.

Second, France resumes her traditional policy of friendship with the Moslems, a policy which will insure her peaceful control over the millions of Mohammedans in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and the Sudan.

Third, a pacifying and stabilizing effect of this treaty is expected in the Caucasus and in central Asia. Owing to the general disorder which prevailed there in 1919 and 1920, the Russians had overrun national resistance in Northern Caucasia, in Georgia, in Armenia. The new state of things in Asia Minor does not directly affect Russia, but it shows once more that national will is finding sooner or later a successful expression everywhere. What happens to the Turks is an encouragement to the Caucasian nationalities. Some time ago Mustapha Kemal had concluded an alliance with the Moscow Government, from which he expected a supply of arms, ammunition, and money. Moscow did not live up to the pact, and, as there is little chance of the Bolshevist doctrine spreading in a Moslem country, there seems to be no future for the Soviets' influence in Asia Minor, where military help was their only asset.

Last, but not least, France can now concentrate on her peaceful mission in Syria proper. Her duties are many, because her influence has been lasting and deep and has aroused many hopes. To quote "The New World" of Mr. Isaiah Bowman: "The interests of France in Syria do not date from recent times. From the days of the early Phœnician traders, long before the Christian era, Marseilles had maintained commercial intercourse with Syria, and the relationship has remained unbroken to this day.

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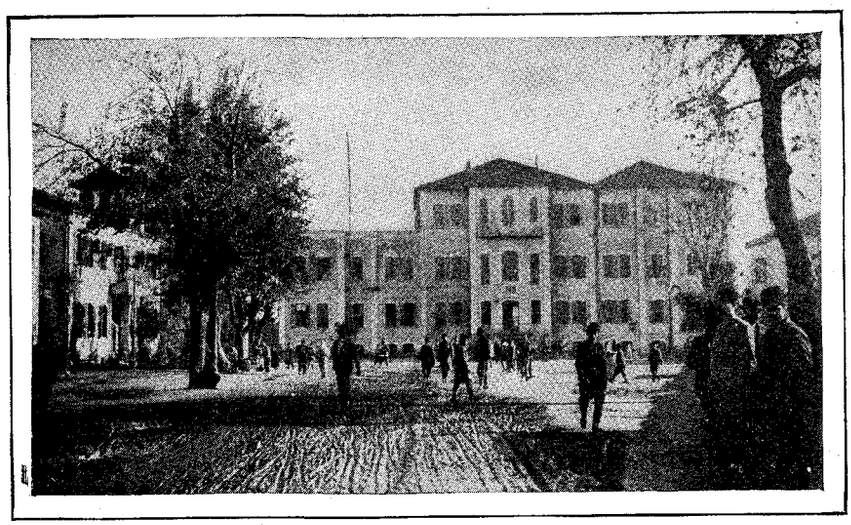
During the Crusades, France took the lead in the effort to redeem the Holy Land from Mohammedan conquerors. It was quite a natural thing that Frenchmen should thereafter become the rulers of Syria. Antioch and Tripoli had French princes, Jerusalem a French King. France, 'the eldest daughter of the Church,' had played a noble part in the redemption of lands sacred to Christians, and in recognition thereof the Pope conferred on French kings the title of 'Protector of Oriental Christians.'"

In modern times the French have financed the Syrian railways and built the important silk factories of Lebanon, which export annually one million pounds of silk to France. Besides, to quote Bowman again, "French schools are more numerous throughout the former Turkish territories than those of any other nation. There is need of France in Syria and elsewhere in the Near East, in the interests of Western civilization and as a barrier against anarchy."

Criticism has been directed against the Angora treaty. It has not come from the Moslem world, nor from the French opposition parties. It has come from the British Colonial Office. As these attacks have not been seriously supported by the most enlightened part—the largest part—of British public opinion, there is no need of reviving the quarrel. Like other quarrels between England and France, it had no ground except in the irritation of a few officials whose combinations had been upset, combinations which were founded upon the hope for everlasting trouble in the Near East, and especially in the French sphere of action. Peace is worth too much for the peacemakers to take such petty schemes into consideration. It is true that France did not ask anybody's permission before concluding peace with the Kemalists; but, after all, England asked for no approval when she concluded a trade agreement with Moscow, or when she continued supporting Emir Feisal after he took an attitude of open hostility towards the French.

A more serious objection has been raised by Armenians abroad and by their friends, who wonder how the Christian population of Cilicia is to be protected when Turkish rule is resumed.

The guaranties given to Christian minorities in the evacuated regions, and in particular to the Armenians (whose proportion runs between eight per cent and fifteen per cent in the above-mentioned districts, all of which have a density of less than fifty inhabitants per square mile), are the following: French troops will withdraw gradually, and be replaced by Turkish regulars only. The police force will be commanded by French officers. There will be French consuls in the main cities. The present Government employees will be left in place.



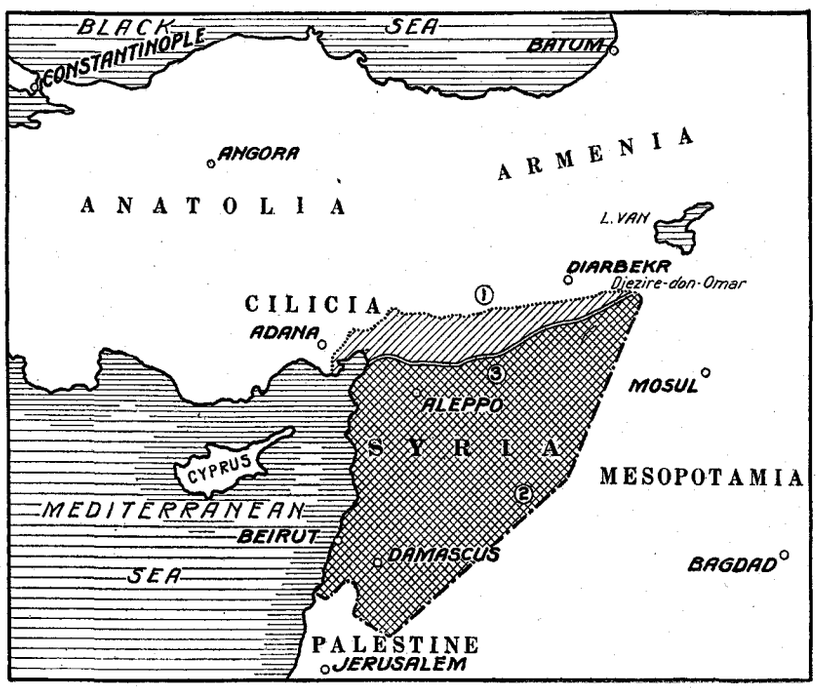
(C) Keystone

FRENCH HEADQUARTERS IN ADANA

France, which has spent one hundred million francs for the Armenian refugees and fought in Cilicia for three years, cannot do more. Some are blaming her for not assuming the whole responsibility of Armenia's protection. She has been blamed by others for taking too many responsibilities. But the facts speak for her. France is satisfied that she has made peace in all the regions of the world that were in the reach of her influence. Can all her critics say the same?

As early as 1919 there were plans for the settlement of the Armenian question. These plans were held in suspense because America had not decided about her attitude in the matter. America, which had done much to encourage the national aspirations of the Armenians, finally did not accept the mandate over Armenia, which was voted down by the Senate. It is probable, however, that America will play a large part in the future development of the Armenian country.

The various small fires that followed the great world blaze are thus being put out, one after the other. The smoke of battle is now lifting from these lands of western Asia where so many interests have been clashing ever since Alexander the Great. "Nowhere else has so much history run through so narrow a space," it has been said. Leaving the past to bury its dead, we find that since the Armistice of 1918 Anglo-French differences have been the poison which prevented a peaceful settlement from being reached at once. The solution has now been found, and friction will lose its intensity as soon as colonial extremists stop their thundering and leave a chance for sober opinion to crystallize.



BOUNDARIES OF SYRIA

(1) Northern boundary established by the Treaty of Sèvres
(2) Southern boundary established by the Franco-British Agreement
(3) New northern boundary established by the Angora Peace Treaty, October, 1921

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THE PLIGHT OF RUSSIA

BY EX-GOVERNOR JAMES P. GOODRICH, OF INDIANA

TO understand the real situation in Russia it is necessary to go back a bit, because the famine is due to a number of contributing causes. In 1920 there was planted in all Russia seventy-six per cent of the crop planted in 1916. In 1921 the peasants planted fifty-five per cent of the 1916 crop. The major part of that decrease occurred in the years 1918, 1919, and 1920, with a marked decrease in the last two years. There are several causes given for such a condition, one the policy of requisitions, which is recognized by both Mr. Trotsky and Mr. Lenine.

The other is due to the war which swept over this famine district—a civil war following four years of foreign conflict in which Russia was engaged. The peasants had a partial crop shortage in 1920, due to two causes—short planting and failure of rainfall. Then in 1921, following the season of a fifty-five per cent planting, came an almost total failure of rain. The rainfall in May, June, and July was less than ten per cent of normal. So that had there been a normal crop planting during 1921 in that part of Russia, from the Tartar Republic on down to the Caspian Sea, there would still have been a tremendous grain shortage in the lower Volga country.

I have recently returned from Russia, where I spent two months in the famine districts. I first went to Moscow, then out to Samara and down the Volga River to Saratov, then thirty miles below Saratov. I drove out in the Volga district to sixteen different communes, visiting the various communal houses, examining their records, going through their grain-houses, collecting all the statistics that I could get to ascertain the true situation. I afterwards went to Kazan, and then from Moscow to Petrograd, covering most of the so-called famine district, except the extreme lower part and the district at the north end, extending out towards the Siberian frontier.

On my return to Moscow after my first trip, I went to the Commisar of Agriculture and asked him to prepare me certain statistics, which I afterwards got on my return there. In the capitals of the various states I went to the Commisar of Agriculture to get what facts I could obtain there, and then went into the commune and got the communal records, which are very complete in most of these Russian communes, especially so in what is known as the German-Russian Commune in the lower part of the Volga Valley. Those records are very complete and accurate in the Tartar Republic. Other places have kept their records with more or less accuracy, so the conclusion I arrived at was made up of this information obtained from the Commisar of Agriculture at Moscow, and from the commisars of the various states. By checking that back with the records of the local communes, I think that the information I have is reasonably accurate.

The famine district is perhaps the most densely populated in the world outside of China, dependent wholly upon agriculture. The Volga Valley has no industrial background; no manufacturing centers, as the industries of Russia very largely disappeared during the last three or four years, so that the people must depend wholly on the products of the soil. And so we find extending from Kazan to Samara a population averaging above 100 to the square mile. That is four times the population of my own State of Indiana depending on agriculture alone. When you eliminate the waste land in these provinces, or rather the commune or collections of communes, there are found from 150 to 190 to the square mile, so that you can realize something about the real situation from the population view-point.

Traversing the German and Russian communes, I found an appalling situation. Entering the cities of the lower Volga and observing great, strong, round-faced, red-cheeked men and women in the bazaars and on the streets, one might think that there was no famine in that country; but when you go into the community houses, where deserted children and orphans are assembled, go out among the communes and into the communal homes, where they have gathered the victims together, you realize how terrible the situation is, especially when you get down to brass-tack facts and see the very small amount of food the people have upon which they must depend to sustain life for the next six months of winter.

Let us consider two typical communes. I do not select them because of their unusual character, but because they are typical of communes on the Volga. First, there is the commune of Schilling, which is German, with a population of 3,798. It contains 4,467 dessiatines, which is only 3½ or 3¾ acres to the inhabitant. The peasants planted in 1919, 1,590 dessiatines of land, which yielded 37,950 poods of grain, of which the Government took 12,000 in taxes that year. (A dessiatine is equal to 2.2 acres of ground and a pood is 36 pounds.) In 1920 the peasants planted 1,737 dessiatines, a little more than in 1919, and raised 30,533 poods. That year they had almost a failure of wheat, the crop decreasing from 22,888 to 4,646 poods. There was a partial drought in 1920, but their potato crop increased from 7,000 to 19,800 poods, which kept them alive that year.

But the Government during that year took 5,000 poods, or forty per cent of what they got the year before. In 1921 the peasants planted 1,255 dessiatines, about twenty per cent less than in 1920. Of these 1,255 dessiatines they did not get back even the seeds used to plant the crops. I went through their grain-houses. They had eleven communal grain-houses, which are usually filled with grain; but nine of them were empty without a pound in them, and the other two were only partially filled. I met there a rather clean-looking lot of farmers, Russian farmers, who had assembled in the communal hall. This year the Government did not tax them at all, but instead gave them back enough seed to sow 330 dessiatines of rye, so that they have plowed for next year 800 dessiatines of ground ready to sow either rye, wheat, or other grain which they may be able to secure.

The crop this year compared to 1919 *was only about six per cent*, and compared to 1920 about seven per cent. The peasants had enough available foodstuffs to preserve the lives of 3,798 people in that particular commune. But there are not that many now, because a great many of them have already died They have only about 1½ poods of food per capita, including their cabbage and everything used there. These reports they gave to me recently, but since July 1 25 of them have died from cholera, 30 from typhus, and 45 from starvation. They said that in that little commune they have 1,146 children under fifteen years of age and that at least 800 of them must have help or die of starvation before next spring.

It was my opinion, judging from the serious expression on the faces of these farmers, that they believed they were telling the truth. They said the Government had promised them seeds, and they were in high hopes of getting it. This commune and all others told me that if they could get enough grain to sow their wheat next spring they would not need help after next harvest. In the Russian commune of Babaroff I found eight out of nine warehouses empty of grain.

Near the commune of Schilling I saw a grandfather and grandmother, a son, the daughter-in-law, and five children on their knees crawling across their little allotment of land gathering every weed they could get, tying them in bundles, and hauling them down to their commune, where they thrash out the weed-seeds and grind them in the communal mill, mixing with rye. The straw from the weeds they put in stacks, that their stock may eat it to keep them alive until the next harvest. I asked them whether or not the stock would eat the weeds, and they replied: "They will not until everything else is gone. But they will eat it before they will starve to death." I saw children out along the little waterways gathering rose pods, cockle-burs, and the like in little bags. These they took home to grind in their little communal mills, which they have everywhere.

In this commune 145 people starved to

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Wide World Photos

RELIEF WORK IN RUSSIA—WOMEN AND CHILDREN WAITING TO BE FED BY THE AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION

International

A FAMILY OF FAMINE-STRICKEN REFUGEES IN THE SAMARA DISTRICT

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death this year, 65 died of typhus, which is increasing, and 82 of cholera.

I had heard reports from different communes of people starving, but knew that they had food enough to prevent them starving for the time being. I said to them—there were twenty or thirty in the communal hall: "I wish you would tell me why it is that where there is enough to preserve life for all of you for several months you permit your neighbors to starve to death." Rather slowly a peasant answered the question: "You Americans do not understand. There is not enough to keep us alive until next harvest. So that if we divide up now and do not get help *we shall all starve to death. It is better that some should die in order that others may live.*"

That was his philosophy. He told me that the peasants had had an unfortunate experience in the year 1891, when 300,000 of them died of starvation in the Volga Valley. When you get inside of Russia and understand the terrible situation which confronts the Russian people, you cease to wonder why, knowing that death must overtake them all if they divide, they should choose to preserve their own families. They are making every possible preparation to meet the situation. Perhaps they will discount the figures we get, because a human being has a tremendous capacity to maintain life under adverse conditions.

In the commune of Houk, twenty versts beyond Markstadt, we found the communal kitchens in operation. They serve one meal a day at the noon hour, giving to those who have no food three ladles of soup made of cabbage, carrots, and other vegetables with some meat in it; also about a half-pound of rye bread. Next we visited the communal home, where orphans and abandoned children are collected from the near-by communes. In this home we found 145 children. When they are first received, they are deloused and given a bath. These children, when they enter the home, are dirty, ragged, living skeletons, with a helpless, hungry look in their faces, and take little or no interest in their surroundings. They seem more like an animal that has been shot to death and crawled off in the brush to die. It was a sorrowful sight for an American to witness. After the children are cleaned up they are given rough cotton clothing, very scant and light. Most of them are without shoes and stockings, although the thermometer on the day we were there was 28 degrees below zero and the home in which they were quartered not very well heated on account of the shortage of fuel.

I found in this commune forty-one houses which had been abandoned. The owners had either died or fled. The roofs had been torn off these houses to get wood for fuel, which is very scarce in that country, as the lower Volga is almost as devoid of timber as western Kansas. On the outskirts of this commune, as we were passing a small shed near one of the abandoned houses, we found in it two little girls, ten and twelve years of age. They came out of the shed holding their arms about them, shivering and crying in the cold, bitter wind, which was blowing the snow across the commune on that bitter day. I inquired of them regarding their troubles. They replied that their father and mother and two of their brothers had died of cholera and starvation the week before; that for the past five days they had had nothing to eat except cabbage leaves and carrots, which they had gathered about the commune. They were barefooted and had no clothing except thin cotton dresses extending to the knees. They said that they were very, very hungry and looked as if they were in great distress, being exceedingly thin and emaciated.

I asked these little girls why they did not go to the communal authorities and apply for help at the feeding kitchens. They replied that they did not think it would be any use, as they had learned that there was not food enough for everybody. We gave them 100,000 rubles, which are worth about $1 in American money, and told them to go to the communal hall, where they would be taken care of, and this they did. These children probably would have starved to death had we not discovered them. I asked the communal officers why they did not look these cases up; but they did not give a very good excuse, replying that cases of hunger were usually called to their attention and that they had all they could do, with the limited supply of food at their command, to care for those who came to them.

The Soviet Government, whatever you may say or think about it, is co-operative in the work of relief to the fullest extent. It will not permit a pound of food to be diverted, but is carrying it to its destination without loss. No one can steal food from the American Relief Administration, under penalty of death. I heard a man tell the A. R. A. officers at Saratov that if any one stole anything to report them; that any one stealing American food would be stood up against a wall and shot; so that there has been a remarkably small amount of food lost. I talked with different communal officers, who drive forty or fifty versts across the country, hauling the food out and distributing it to the kitchens, whence every pound of food goes into the mouths of the hungry people of Russia. That which is now being sent is used only for children.

I believe that 20,000,000 bushels of corn and 5,000,000 bushels of wheat sent from America would save the situation. The Russian Government has exempted from taxation what was called the famine provinces, so that every province in Russia is seeking to get into that class. There are from ten to fourteen provinces in the famine area, with a population of about 25,000,000 people.

The American Relief Administration feeds children in both Moscow and Petrograd, as the Russian Government, realizing the seriousness of the situation, has taken from the Volga district many abandoned and orphaned children and has sent them into Moscow and Petrograd, and several thousand more have come from the Tartar Republic.

Regarding transportation, I had a conference with the Commisar of Railroads two days before I left, and went over the whole situation with him. If you can rely on the reports of the British Commissioner, appointed a year ago, Russia has over 1,200 more engines now than then; 8,026 in good running order, 7,000 engines needing light repairs, and 6,000 engines needing heavy repairs The Russian Government has bought 856 engines from Germany and 1,000 from Sweden. They are being delivered now. The Government has 440,000 freight cars in good order and 110,000 that need light repairs, which is twenty-three per cent, a rather heavy proportion. There is no question but that the Russian Government can move the food supplies and move them quickly. The Commisar says that he can, and I am certain he is right.

Regarding the shortage of animals, in 1919 the Schilling commune had 1,223 horses, in 1920 it had 891 horses, and in 1921 it had 451 horses. Of cows it had 582 in 1919, 461 in 1920, and 413 in 1921. The cows decrease but little in number, as they are needed for milk to keep the children alive. Of sheep there were 1,352 in 1919, 1,151 in 1920, and only 424 in 1921. That shows a decrease of sixty per cent. Of pigs there were 781 in 1919, 246 in 1920, and 58 in 1921. That is a decrease of 92 per cent. This tells the story without comment.

The Russian people are well equipped to use corn for food. Every commune in Russia has its communal windmill, with the old-fashioned stone burrs, with which they grind all their foods. The Commisar of Agriculture in the lower Volga Valley has been carrying on a campaign to induce the Russian farmers to raise corn, to diversify crops, and get away from the antiquated three-year system, under which they cultivate but one-third of the land each year. The Commisar of the Tartar Republic has been especially active in this educational propaganda.

The work of the American Relief Administration in Russia, having only recently begun, is not at present very extensive. There are only seventy-five in the personnel; in fact, a large force is not needed, as the local people not only do most of the work but also furnish without charge buildings, equipment, and everything. The Soviet Government is furnishing transportation free all over the country, and assists in every way possible. Although not so efficient as it might be, the Government is co-operating in a wholehearted way with the work to which the American Relief Administration is devoting its labor and resources in Russia.

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THE RUSSIA OF TO-MORROW

A STATEMENT BY NICHOLAS D. AVKSENTIEV AND PROFESSOR PAUL N. MILIUKOV

IN addressing American readers we wish to emphasize one thing in the Russian situation which may not be sufficiently known in this country. In the midst of all that human suffering, dissolution of statehood, economic decay, and financial chaos, brought about by the four years of Bolshevist domination, there is one thing which will finally detach itself as the chief result of the revolutionary stage of Russian history. This is the fact that, in spite of all the destruction brought about by Bolshevism, Russia is not a desert, and elements of organization can now be found everywhere. Under that heavy cloak of Bolshevist uniformity, Russia is alive and not dead, in spite of all her miseries and sufferings. The experience of the past four years increased the political consciousness of the large masses of the Russian people, and by the side of destruction and ruin germs of new life are everywhere. Elements of new power, the nuclei of new governmental structure, can be found everywhere in the country, and they can crystallize at any moment as liquid crystallizes under a certain degree of temperature.

It is unnecessary to prove that the Bolshevist rule is undemocratic. Communism opposes itself to democracy, as the rule of a "conscious minority"—to government by democratic election. The Bolshevist practice in Russia serves to show that an insignificant minority can rule only by tyranny, by resorting to the obsolete methods of the former autocracy to a degree never known before. The result is the complete exhaustion of all material resources of the country and an intense hatred of the prevailing majority of the population towards the Bolshevist rulers. The days of the new autocracy are numbered; their end is near.

But who will take their place? The current answers often given to that question are three: 1. The Bolsheviki will evolve themselves into a decent government; 2. The downfall of Bolshevism will be followed by anarchy and chaos; 3. There will be reaction and restoration of the former Czar's autocracy upon the downfall of Bolshevism.

In our opinion—and it can be proved the Bolshviks are unable to evolve. Merely economic concessions will not revive Russia. At the same time the Bolshevist rulers are well aware of the fact that even elementary political concessions would bring the Bolshevist régime to a speedy end. Any step toward democracy—like abolition of the notorious "Che-ka" (the Bolshevist secret police) and free elections to the Soviets—would at once deprive them of their power. At the moment this statement is dictated rumors are rife that Mr. Lenine intends to convoke a Constituent Assembly in January or February, 1922. This scheme is somehow connected with the renewed talk of recognition of the Bolshevist Government. As could be expected, no mention is made that the elections to such an Assembly would be free and by a secret ballot. Therefore the news is of no significance or value. Whoever knows the situation in Russia at present knows that under the pressure of the "Che-ka" the elections would be swept by the Bolsheviks. There is also some talk about a coalition between the Bolsheviks and the other Russian parties. This talk is also of no importance, since the corresponding fact in the Russian situation is the continued prosecution of the leading members of all political parties opposed to Bolshevism, who are being executed, kept in prisons, or exiled.

The Bolshevist aim behind these rumors is to gain recognition and the necessary economic and financial help from foreign countries. But no help can really relieve the Russian people unless the political situation in Russia is radically changed. In the absence of serious political concessions—which are impossible—the economic concessions are ineffective and bound to be extremely limited in their application. Therefore we think that Bolshevism will fall just as Czarism fell, owing to its incapacity for a real compromise.

As to the inevitability of chaos in Russia upon the downfall of Bolshevism, there is no such possibility, in our opinion, since even now, as we stated above, Russia is not at all a wilderness. Germs of new life are rife all over Russia and nuclei of a new political organization are likely to develop at once and everywhere, at the first opportunity. The agents of Mr. Hoover's Relief Administration can probably testify to this by their personal contact with the Russian people throughout the country. The vitality of the non-Bolshevist population cannot be taken, of course, as a sign for the vitality of the Bolshevist régime, as some people take it. Russia is alive *in spite* of the Bolsheviks, and not because of them. That is why we expect that the salvation of Russia will necessarily come from within, from her own people. It is true that the great mass of the population is too downtrodden and low-spirited to start on a general and organized revolt. But it would be a mistake to think that the spirit of resistance has entirely gone. On the contrary, it extends itself to the formerly privileged groups of the Red Army and Red bureaucracy, in the measure that the Bolshevist Government proves powerless and incapable to secure even their material existence. We are hopeful, therefore, and satisfied that the change will come soon, and that it will be caused by the changed state of mind of the population. It was the same state of changed psychology which brought about the speedy downfall of the Czar's autocracy in March, 1917, in spite of all the huge resources at its disposal.

As to the danger of reaction, it must be stated that this danger really exists, owing to the activity of Russian monarchist organizations abroad which are helped with money by the German reactionaries. In this country a similar monarchist organization is being helped by a prominent American business man. But the fate of the military adventures that can be prepared with this money is sealed in advance. They cannot be made either stronger or more successful than the many attempts by the so-called "white armies" and "generals," which ended in complete failure and only helped to prolong the Bolshevist rule. The basic reason for all these failures in the past and in the future is a conscious choice of the Russian masses, which are unwilling to support such "liberators" as are likely to bring back to them their former landlords and administrators. Monarchy, which is closely allied with such elements, is doomed forever. Russia will resurrect as a democratic federated republic. Federation is the only means to bring back and to unite on the basis of free agreement the various parts of the now dismembered Russia. This process is not easy, and may develop slowly and gradually, but it is sure to develop as soon as a firm basis is laid for it by a stable democratic government.

It is with the aim of welding together all the Russian democratic groups that the conference of the members of the former All-Russian Constituent Assembly was called in Paris, in January, 1921. The members of that democratic parliament were elected in the end of 1917 by the entire population of Russia, on the basis of universal, direct, equal, and secret suffrage. The majority of the Constituent Assembly belonged to the anti-Bolshevist parties, and therefore the Assembly was dissolved by Bolshevist bayonets after one day's session. In January, 1921, a conference of the members of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly was called in Paris, which elected an Executive Committee, which we have the honor of representing. The activity of the Executive Committee extends now over the principal countries of western Europe. Our organization does not pretend to represent formally the people inside of Russia, but we are working in full accord with all the Russian democratic groups. Our aim is not to direct or to govern, but to follow the developments in the interior of Russia and to help our democratic movement to assert itself against both extremes of Bolshevism and reaction.

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THE BOOK TABLE

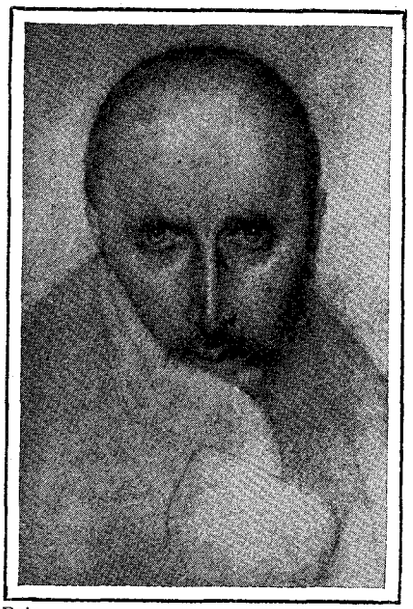
ROMAIN ROLLAND: THE MAN AND HIS WORK

A MASSIVE and luminous biographical portrait of Jean-Christophe's author is achieved by Stefan Zweig in "Romain Rolland: The Man and His Work."[1] It is the first biography of Rolland in English. It combines the charm of rich objective delineation with a persuasive revelation of Rolland, the artist.

From Rolland's boyhood, a physically frail one, it appears that music has nurtured and sustained him. His mother taught him the piano. When he was ill as a child and death seemed near, "a melody from Mozart watched over his pillow." "Whenever my spirit is weary, whenever I am sick at heart, I turn to my piano and bathe in music," says the novelist; a day rarely elapses without his "holding converse" with Beethoven. Shakespeare he discovered as a boy in a dusty loft. From Shakespeare and Beethoven he inherited a passionate admiration for greatness, and something of his own will to greatness, and the ability "to know life and yet to love it." Because of his preoccupation with these two masters he failed twice in the entrance examination to the normal school.

At twenty-two Rolland had added a third great idol, Tolstoy, the publication of whose savage attack on art entitled "What Is to Be Done?" presently racked the young æsthete with frightful doubts and uncertainties. Sitting down one day in his attic, the troubled youth wrote Tolstoy an impulsive letter, describing his perplexities and bewilderment. In time came Tolstoy's answer to his unknown correspondent—thirty-eight pages of long-hand written in French, an entire treatise. Rolland's cry had profoundly impressed the Russian. "It has touched me to the heart. I have read it with tears in my eyes," wrote Tolstoy, and then expounded his idea that only that art was of value which bound men together. "The hour when Tolstoy wrote to his unknown correspondent," observes the biographer, "has been revived in a thousand letters from Rolland to a thousand unknowns."

One beholds Rolland laying the foundations of his art upon the "hidden masonry of years spent in isolation," his life the continuous struggle of one who "cannot come to terms with mediocrity." One sees him laboring in an attic room "small and simple as a monastic cell," first as a student, then as an unrecognized dramatist and a professor of musical history, and even now that fame has overtaken him and he holds a Nobel Prize for literature. In 1912 Romain Rolland was still unknown; in 1914, shortly before he had attained his fiftieth year, with the publication of "Jean-Christophe" his fame broke upon the world like a flood.



Bain

ROMAIN ROLLAND, FROM A DRAWING BY GRANIÉ

Zweig gives us an unforgetable picture of Rolland at his work in two tiny attic rooms in the heart of Paris, up five flights of winding wooden stairs:

> Amid the books sits the gentle monk of this cell, soberly clad like a clergyman. He is slim, tall, delicate looking; his complexion is sallow, like that of one who is rarely in the open. His face is lined, suggesting that here is a worker who spends few hours in sleep. His whole aspect is somewhat fragile—the sharply cut profile which no photograph seems to reproduce perfectly; the small hands, his hair silvering behind the lofty brow; his mustache falling softly like a shadow over the thin lips. Everything about him is gentle: his voice in its rare utterances; his figure which, even in repose, shows the traces of his sedentary life; his gestures, which are always restrained; his slow gait. His whole personality radiates gentleness. The casual observer might derive the impression that the man is debilitated or extremely fatigued, were it not for the way in which the eyes flash ever and again from beneath the slightly reddened eyelids. . . . The small and frail body radiates the mysterious energy of work. . . .
>
> The ardor of our recluse is all-embracing, reaching forth to include the cultures of every tongue, the history, philosophy, poesy, and music of every nation. He is in touch with all endeavors. He receives sketches, letters, and reviews concerning everything. . . . With his small, upright handwriting in which all the letters are clearly and powerfully formed, he permanently fixes the thoughts that pass through his mind, whether spontaneously arising or coming from without. . . . His thriftily collected hoard of these autographic intellectual goods is enormous. The flame of his labor burns unceasingly. Rarely does he take more than five hours' sleep; seldom does he go for a stroll in the adjoining Luxembourg; infrequently does a friend climb the five flights of winding stair for an hour's quiet talk.

There are a few passages in which the biographer's explicitness recedes before his personal affection for Rolland. The disaster of Rolland's brief marriage is only hinted at. But the brilliant warmth with which Stefan Zweig reveals many of the inner workings of genius is vastly satisfying to any student of literature and of the men who create it.

NEWTON FUESSLE.

[1] Romain Rolland: The Man and His Work. By Stefan Zweig. Thomas Seltzer, New York. $4.

THE NEW BOOKS

FICTION

BRIDGE ACROSS (THE). By L. Allen Harker. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.75.

Mrs. Harker's Raby in this story is as truly girl-like as her Allegra in a former tale. She is impetuous and tomboyish, therefore delightful to know. Her troubles with her cynical and drug-ruined but somehow attractive father, her war-time experiences and bachelor girl life in London, and finally her love story make up an agreeable romance.

DAUGHTER OF THE MIDDLE BORDER (A). By Hamlin Garland. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

In this agreeably written narrative Mr. Garland carries on the semi-biographical record of "A Son of the Middle Border" in an equally readable manner. Particularly interesting is the account of his friendship with Mr. Howells and John Burroughs. The publishers are right in saying that this is an autobiographic record which reads like a novel but which is in fact a part of the intimate social history of midland America.

HELEN'S BABIES. By John Habberton. Memorial Edition. The Stewart & Kidd Company, Cincinnati, Ohio. $3.

HELEN'S BABIES. By John Habberton. The F. A. Stokes Company, New York. Memorial Edition. $2.50.

As the two titles above show, two memorial editions have appeared of "Helen's Babies." The first edition was published about forty-five years ago. It achieved an enormous success, and it almost seemed that the author's jocose dedication was to be realized—he dedicated it "To all fathers and mothers each of whom possesses the best children that ever lived," gently suggesting that each such father and mother should purchase a copy. Mr. Habberton was a newspaper man; he died less than a

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year ago. He was always fond of little children and delighted in inventing games to play with them. One of the memorial editions states that he was kind-hearted, generous, a man of small business ability, so that the profits from the half million copies of "Helen's Babies" that were sold either never reached him at all or slipped away from him. Both these editions present colored pictures of the characters.

JUGO-SLAV STORIES. Translated by Pavle Popovic. (The Interpreters' Series.) Duffield & Co., New York. $2.

These nine stories by the greatest of modern Serbian writers are correctly described as giving an extraordinarily vivid and true picture of the life and the soul of the Serbian people to-day. They deal with every side of the national life, and range from tragedy to comedy, and from legend to the most up-to-date realism.

NOBODY'S MAN. By E. Phillips Oppenheim. Illustrated. Little, Brown & Company, Boston. $2.

We do not know how many stories Mr. Oppenheim has written, but we happen to note the fact that twenty-nine of his books have been reviewed in this department. His popularity is not at all on the wane, but we frankly express our judgment that this particular book would not rank high as compared with those that have appeared since the war ended. It is less exciting and "gripping" than "The Great Impersonation" and less entertaining than is "Jacob's Ladder." Perhaps this is because it deals chiefly with English politics and only incidentally with detection of criminals.

TO HIM THAT HATH. By Ralph Connor. The George H. Doran Company, New York. $1.75.

This deals largely with industrial and social problems and, like all of the author's stories, is inspired by wide human sympathy and belief in mutual effort for advance and accomplishment. The scene is the Canadian Northwest. There are stirring incidents and tense situations.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

HISTORY OF VERMONT. By Walter Hill Crockett. Illustrated. 4 vols. The Century History Company, Inc., New York. $31.50.

This history of the great-little State of Vermont gives in elaborate detail the story of the State from its beginnings. It is the result of much research, and should become a "household word" in the families of loyal Vermonters. The type is exceptionally readable, and there are numerous illustrations.

MUSIC, PAINTING, AND OTHER ARTS

ART AND ARTISTS OF INDIANA. By Mary Q. Burnet. Illustrated. The Century Company, New York. $6.

Indiana has become prominent in literature and the author wishes us to appreciate what prominence it has in painting. The period covered is that of over a century; it includes the New Harmony Settlement, the itinerant portrait painters, the earliest art school of the Middle West, and, finally, the artists of Indiana who, having studied abroad, have returned to interpret the beauty of their native State.

From "Robert Henri; His Life and Works." Reproduced by permission of Boni & Liveright

CATHERINE

ROBERT HENRI. His Life and Works. Edited by William Yarrow and Louis Bouche. Illustrated. Privately Printed. Boni & Liveright, New York. $10.

As we are told in this sumptuous volume, Robert Henri's work is uneven, for he does not always succeed in finding the abstract basis upon which to build his picture. But when he does succeed, as he often does, "the result is not proclaimed by the manner of his painting but by the completeness of his conception." Certainly no one can look at the forty reproductions of Henri's work in this book without feeling in the presence of something very vivacious and vigorous.

PICTORIAL LANDSCAPE PHOTOGRAPHY. By the Photo Pictorialists of Buffalo. Illustrated. The American Photographic Publishing Company, Boston. $3.50.

All students of pictorial photography will like to own this book, which describes the methods in general use for "controlling the photograph"—in other words, for producing the diffused and sometimes beautiful effects which are to be seen in all current exhibitions of "advanced work" in photography. Some of the numerous reproductions shown in this volume are very pleasing, many others suffer from faint printing, but all will whet the reader's interest and make him wish to see the originals. The text, while largely technical, is on the whole clear and informative.

BIOGRAPHY

SILHOUETTES OF MY CONTEMPORARIES. By Lyman Abbott. Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $3.

The papers from Dr. Abbott's pen which have appeared in The Outlook under the general title "Snap-Shots of My Contemporaries" have been gathered with others in this volume. In addition to the sketches which appeared in The Outlook the volume contains similar sketches of John Fiske, General William Booth, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt. The publishers have given the volume the advantage of clear type and attractive binding.

Dr. Abbott in his preface describes his use of the title "Silhouettes" as indicating his effort "to trace in outline the portraits of some of my contemporaries," thus making a volume which should be a gallery of shadow pictures. One reviewer, Mr. Willis Fletcher Johnson, in the New York "Tribune," in an appreciative and friendly article, takes exception to the title of the book because "a silhouette is a portrait showing just one side of the subject and without a touch of color or gradation of light and shade and without the slightest background or environment. But these pen-portraits of a few of the great men whom he has known in a lifetime of more than eighty years are vastly more than that."

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CONTRIBUTORS' GALLERY

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER needs no introduction in the pages of The Outlook. Her novels have been appearing every year with remarkable regularity and her short stories are published in many of the leading magazines. Miss Canfield was educated at the Ohio State University and at Columbia. She has studied and traveled extensively in Europe and spent three years in France doing war work.

THE physical and political aspects of the Russian problem are striking presented in two authoritative articles "The Plight of Russia," by ex-Governor James P. Goodrich, of Indiana, and "The Russia of To-Morrow," by Nicholas D. Avksentiev and Professor Paul N. Miliukov.

Mr. Goodrich was a Special Representative of Herbert Hoover in Russia where he spent two months investigating conditions in the Volga Valley. He is intending to return to Russia again in a few weeks to continue the work which he has begun and which is regarded as a most important factor in the passage of the bill appropriating $20,000,000 for Russian relief.

Mr. Avksentiev has been one of the leaders of the Social-Revolutionary party for the past twenty years. After the Bolshevist revolt of November, 1917, he became one of the leaders of the anti-Bolshevist movement. At present Mr. Avksentiev is the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Conference of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

Professor Miliukov is one of the founders and leaders of the Russian liberalism; he was the spokesman of the Liberal Opposition in the Duma. He is now the leader of the left wing of the Constitutional-Democratic party and a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly.

ELON K. JESSUP is associate editor of "Outing" and the author of "The Motor Camping Book" and other volumes.

PIERRE DE LANUX was born in Paris and lived there until 1916, when he came to America on a mission from the French Government with the French High Commission. He was a member of André Tardieu's Bureau Technique on the Peace Conference in 1918, and in 1919 went on a mission to the Balkans.

THREE aviation officers who took part in the bombing test off the Virginia capes come to the defense of the air plane in this issue.

MARGUERITE WILKINSON is both a poet and a lecturer on contemporary poetry. She was born in Nova Scotia and educated in Evanston, Illinois. Her latest volume of criticism, "New Voices" has received wide attention.

SOUTH AMERICA

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